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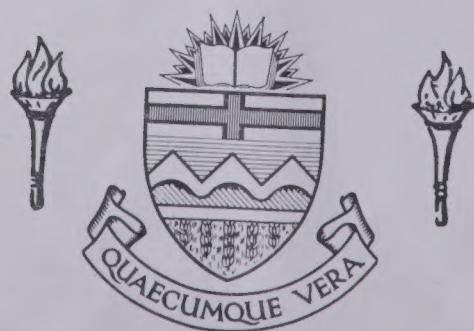
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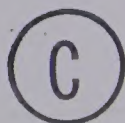






THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AGENT PARTICIPATION  
AS AN APPROACH TO PLANNED CHANGE

by



P. A. S. SARAM

A THESIS  
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled A Sociological Analysis of Agent Participation as an Approach to Planned Change submitted by P. A. S. Saram in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.





## ABSTRACT

This dissertation contains a Sociological analysis of Agent Participation as an Approach to Planned Change. By Agent Participation is meant, the role of a Change Agent who also participates in change. The study comprises of four problem areas. These are, first, a clarification of the subject area of Planned Change that is of immediate concern to the topic of inquiry; second, an examination of the concept Participation with the view towards ascertaining its applicability as a type of influence; third, a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the Change Agent and Agent Participation Approaches to Planned Change; and fourth, a presentation of theoretical insights and empirical issues pertinent to further Sociological inquiry, and social action.

The research undertaken for the study is based primarily on library sources. The major portion of the selected source material has been utilized for the theoretical guidance of the study. In this regard, the study has drawn on selected insights from the body of theoretical literature in Sociology, and the information provided in a few monographs directly addressed to the subject of Planned Change. In addition, a second type of documentary source has been made use of in providing empirical evidence for the research. Most of the field investigations and case material cited in the study have been selected from the research traditions of Community Work, Mass Communications, and Rural Sociology. However, the study itself is intended to cover a broader Sociological problem area of agent-client centered change than what is usually considered as comprising the scope of inquiry in the above mentioned research traditions.





The general findings of the analysis support the position that, Agent Participation is likely to be more effective than the Change Agent Approach as a Means to Planned Change. This conclusion however is a possibility that has been derived on the basis of entirely theoretical considerations. It needs to be emphasized that the scope and methodology of the study and the range of empirical evidence presented do in fact set limits on the degree of acceptance of these general findings. On the other hand, it is plausible to recognize that the Agent Participation Approach may be more effective under specified conditions such as, the nature of a client system (for example, Gemeinschaft oriented), the type of change goal and so forth. The directions in which such further inquiry could be conducted have been presented in the concluding stages of the dissertation. A critical analysis of the subject area of Planned Change, and the focus of research attention on Approaches, as opposed to Strategies and Methods of Planned Change, may be considered as the other major contributions of this study.





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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Purpose of the Study

This thesis contains a study on the subject of Agent Participation as an Approach to Planned Change. The following problem areas have been set forth as comprising the scope of the study.

1. A clarification of the subject area of Planned Change which is of direct concern to the topic of inquiry.
2. An examination of the concept 'Participation' with the view towards ascertaining its applicability as a type of social influence.
3. A comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the Change Agent and Agent Participation Approaches to Planned Change.
4. A presentation of theoretical insights and empirical issues pertinent to further sociological inquiry, and social action.

#### Background of Theory and Research

The various disciplines in behavioral science have contributed towards establishing the importance of many theoretical areas relevant to the subject of Planned Change.<sup>1</sup> Despite this, Planned Change cannot readily be conceived of today as a broad subject area consisting of at least a relatively well integrated system of ideas. The obvious indication in support of this contention is the conceptual and terminological confusion that abounds the literature on the subject. The current situation is no less lamentable than the state of sociological



functionalism observed by Merton:

Too often a single term has been used to symbolize different concepts, just as the same concept has been symbolized by different terms. Clarity of analysis and adequacy of communication are both victims of this frivolous use of words. At times, the analysis suffers from the unwitting shift in the conceptual content of a given term, and communication with others breaks down when the essentially same content is obscured by a battery of diverse terms.<sup>2</sup>

A few reasons can be offered with regard to the lack of a systematic body of knowledge in the field of Planned Change. First, although most disciplines in behavioral science have a concern with some aspect of Planned Change these disciplines have not been too successful in building a common body of knowledge in this area. Sociology for example, while being sensitive to the challenge of comprehending social change has tended to take for granted most of the problem areas pertaining to Planned Change. In this regard a notable exception during recent times has been the insightful thinking by Karl Mannheim.<sup>3</sup>

A second reason is the desire among certain social scientists to maintain an intellectual distance from social policy and matters considered 'applied'. The question whether social scientists should involve themselves with matters demanding value judgment is a much debated issue. While it is not the concern of this thesis to dwell upon the value debate, it is pertinent at this stage to draw attention to an essay by Ralf Dahrendorf on the subject of values and social science. He has offered a cogent argument to the effect that although it is not the job of the scientist to determine practical policy or to apply science to practice he could suggest ways of realizing goals for policies designed by others. While acknowledging that Sociology should be value-free in Weber's sense, Dahrendorf contends that the sociologist





must be morally committed to protect himself and others from the unintended consequences of his actions.<sup>4</sup>

Third, the broad field of Planned Change itself contains many sub-areas, and it has been customary for each sub-area to develop its own definitions and frameworks of reference without sufficient interest to construct or draw upon a general body of knowledge. Nor is there a necessary congruence of conceptual thinking within some of the sub-areas. Despite their emphasis on particular sub-areas, Ronald Lippitt and others,<sup>5</sup> Everett M. Rogers<sup>6</sup> and Ward Goodenough<sup>7</sup> have made significant contributions towards an integrative understanding of the subject area of Planned Change.

Fourth, there seems to be a tendency among certain practitioners of planned change to rationalize the complexities of their tasks on the grounds of 'an inter-disciplinary approach'. This phrase is sometimes used as denotative of the coordination of resources, services and agencies. The objection here is not against the utilization of an inter-disciplinary approach but against the lack of academic concern for the points of departure and arrival related to such an approach.

Finally, there are the strictly action orientated men of practical wisdom who seem to feel that their 'calling' is in the realm of applied affairs and that it would be superfluous if not harmful to permit a theoretical understanding of their fields of interest. This trend too has been detrimental to the growth of a body of knowledge on Planned Change because, in their over-enthusiasm to do things 'applied', such practitioners have neglected that which they must apply.

A preliminary objective of the present study is to attempt a clarification of those conceptual areas that are of immediate concern





to the topic of research. The five problem areas identified in this connection are: Planned Change, Change Means, Resistance Forces, Influence, and Change Agents.

The notion of Planned Change is implicit in many areas of purposeful alteration in the physical and social order. The present study is concerned with purposeful alterations pertaining to the social order. Within this broad category lies a whole range of activity from psychotherapy to mass movements. The area of community work alone comprises many sub-areas such as community development, community organization, and community welfare. What is of interest however, is to have available a general conceptual scheme by which the many types of Planned Change could be placed in some meaningful perspective. Furthermore, it is necessary to have at least a simple theoretical framework which would enable the identification of the basic issues connected with Planned Change. In the literature, there is reference to a series of terms such as social change, directed change, developmental change and so on. There is however, no systematic scheme by which these terms could be understood in relation to one another.

Change Means involve the courses of action pursued in the realization of Change Goals. Owing to at least two reasons, there is considerable difficulty in identifying what an approach, strategy or method means in a given context. First, there is in the literature a somewhat indiscriminate usage of such terms. Second, certain other words seem to be used without adequate concern for the range of different meanings they could connote. For example, an unspecified usage of terms such as participation and involvement does not signify whether such terms are conceived of as modes of influence, approaches, strategies or methods.



Most discussions of Planned Change do not fail to recognize the importance of resistance to change and the means by which such resistance could be overcome. Except for a few leads offered by some authors in this context, there is no elaborate analysis of the bases and manifestations of resistance forces that could be of general applicability to situations of Planned Change.

The exercise of some form of influence provides the basis upon which most types of Planned Change operate. The subject of influence has attracted the attention of many disciplines in behavioral science and the contributions made by them have provided general guidelines of action for the practitioners of planned change. It is, however, unavoidable that the present study too, should concern itself with the subject of influence, despite the considerate warning issued by Dorwin Cartwright.

Anyone wishing to gain a fundamental understanding of the nature of social influence must be prepared to cope with a literature that is scattered, heterogeneous and even chaotic.<sup>8</sup>

The present research deals with two approaches to Planned Change, both operative on the basis of personal influence. However, the two approaches differ in the directional context of the flow of influence. In the Change Agent Approach it is assumed that the flow of influence is unilateral only from the Agent to the Client, whereas in the Agent Participation approach it is assumed that influence could be reciprocal. Though most discussions on Planned Change take the two-way communication pattern into account, there is inadequate attention paid to the process of two-way influence. A notable exception to this is the trend in modern psychiatry.

Almost every serious discussion on Planned Change is known to





dwell at some length on the subject of Agents of Change. Whereas some authorities prefer to use the term 'Change Agents' to cover a wide range inclusive of change means such as mass media, change organizations such as agencies, and a variety of change personnel such as professional teams, professional workers, leaders and volunteers, other writers have taken a more narrow view in conceptualizing this term. Though there is no strong controversy in the literature with regard to the usage of the term Change Agent, it must be stated that there does not appear to be any consensus either as to its usage.

The five problem areas identified in the foregoing paragraphs have been selected for elaborate examination, not only because they are of immediate concern to the topic of research, but also because it is felt that these areas have not been adequately explored in the literature of Planned Change. It is hoped that the beginnings made in this study would have implications extending beyond the aims of the thesis.

Compared to the wide range of theoretical knowledge available for the study of Planned Change, the focus of research interest in the field has been somewhat limited. Whereas the research tradition of Mass Communications and Social Psychology continues to contribute knowledge on many aspects of Planned Change, the research in Applied Anthropology, Community work and Rural Sociology during recent times has been mainly confined to studies on Change Means. This too, has been largely in the area of change methods and techniques, or strategies and tactics. There has been a relative negligence of research directed towards examining approaches and orientations to Planned Change despite the obvious recognition of their theoretical importance by certain authors. For example Merton, in his essay on 'Patterns of Influence' discusses an important



dimension along which 'types of influence' may be differentiated.

It appears that the cosmopolitan influential has a following because he knows; the local influential, because he understands. The one is sought out for his specialized skills and experience; the other for his intimate appreciation of intangible but affectively significant details. (Merton's emphasis)

Continuing, Merton speaks of the 'impersonal social welfare worker' and the 'friendly precinct captain' as examples of cosmopolitan and local influential types respectively; concerning these types he notes that:

. . . in contrast to the professional techniques of the welfare worker which often represent in the mind of the recipient the cold bureaucratic dispensation of limited aid following upon detailed investigation are the unprofessional techniques of the precinct captain who asks no questions, exacts no compliance with legal rules of eligibility and does not "snoop" into private affairs.<sup>9</sup>

In their discussion directly addressed to the subject of the Change Agent's role, Lippitt and others have observed that:

Often the client system seems to be seeking assurance that the potential Change Agent is different enough from the client system to be a real expert and enough like it to be thoroughly understandable and approachable. What the client system really wants is two agents in one. It wants an agent who will identify himself with the client system's problems and sympathize with the system's needs and values, but who will at the same time be neutral enough to take a genuinely objective and different view of the system's predicament.<sup>10</sup>

The above excerpts are reflections on different orientations and approaches to the exercise of influence. Despite such insights, Lippitt and others themselves, have identified as an area for research the evaluation of the effectiveness of different techniques the Change Agent utilizes to stimulate change.<sup>11</sup>

The above discussion on the focus of research is not meant to





devalue the importance of conducting research on strategies and tactics or methods and techniques. Rather, the objection is against the almost total neglect of research on orientations and approaches. The present study is directed towards the examining of approaches to Planned Change.

### The Procedure of Inquiry

The preliminary task of this study is to make a clarification of certain problem areas in the field of Planned Change. Five such problem areas have been identified in the preceding pages. Their clarification would entail a detailed examination of the relevant literature in the field and a series of systematic formulations intended to yield information of general applicability to discussions of Planned Change.

The main object of the study however, is to characterize and assess the effectiveness of the Agent Participation Approach to Planned Change. For analytical convenience in this regard it is intended to examine Agent Participation in comparison with what is commonly referred to as the Change Agent Approach. The purpose of this comparison is not to establish the superiority of one approach over the other, but to ascertain the conditions under which one approach is likely to be more effective than the other.

The first step in this connection would be to examine the concept Participation and explore its utility as a means of influence. It has been customary to view participation as an activity that the recipients of change are encouraged and expected to indulge in. At the same time there are concrete situations in which what may be described as the Agent too participates in change. However, this process and its effectiveness as a means of change do not seem to have attracted the attention of most theorists of Planned Change. There are four broad perspectives from



which the concept Participation would be reviewed in this study. They are: people as members of a system participating in the affairs of either another system or other persons; people participating in a wider system; people participating in an event or some activity; and people participating on an interpersonal basis. Since the two Approaches to be analyzed in the study are based on types of interpersonal influence it is intended to examine the above mentioned fourth perspective in greater depth. Of special interest in this regard would be the aspects within the fourth perspective that provide for participation as a type of social influence. Since Agent Participation is based on a two-way influence process it is proposed to develop a conceptualization of participation that would be congruent with the notion of interpersonal reciprocal influence.

Approaches indicate the general means by which an interaction pattern or link is established between a Change Agency and a client system. The Change Agent Approach and the Agent Participation Approach are based on the interaction patterns of interpersonal unilateral influence and interpersonal reciprocal influence respectively.

The analysis of the two approaches would involve the following procedures. First, an attempt would be made to present a detailed characterization of each approach and an analytical discussion of the likely reactions towards these approaches by the parties concerned with a change process. This analysis would be based almost entirely on structural considerations. The concept of control would be a key analytical tool in this regard. Other concepts which would be utilized are: Group Identity, Leadership, Voluntariness and Exemplification. Second, the analysis would address itself towards examining the





applicability of each change approach in respect of the resistance forces that would be identified earlier in the study. Third, an attempt would be made to apply certain theoretical schemes in Sociology to the influence situation in order to understand the relationship between the agent of change under each approach and the client system. The theoretical schemes to be utilized are: selected insights concerning the bases for the alternatives of social action as explicated by Talcott Parsons; the different images of social conflict developed by Lewis A. Coser and John Rex; and the thesis on elementary social behavior as "exchange", posited by George C. Homans. On the basis of the above analysis this thesis would present possible interpretations with regard to the results of the inquiry, and offer general conclusions by way of practical implications and empirical issues.

The research undertaken for this thesis is nonempirical in the sense that it is not based on data that have been specially gathered for the study. However, the study would be based on a number of empirical investigations that have been conducted along various research traditions. Though it will be noticed that the analysis presented in this study has relevance for many areas of Planned Change, the bulk of empirical knowledge would be drawn from the research traditions of Community Work, Mass Communications and Rural Sociology. In addition, a second type of documentary source would provide the theoretical evidence useful for the study of Planned Change. In this regard this study would draw on the body of theoretical knowledge in Sociology, and the information provided in a few monographs directly addressed to the subject of Planned Change.

#### The Format of the Thesis

The plan of this thesis could be conveniently conceived of as



comprising three major parts namely: general introduction, analysis, and conclusions. The first three chapters provide information of a general introductory nature. Chapter I is devoted to stating the research problem, providing some background information on theory and research, describing the research procedure and stating the limitations of the study. In Chapter II an attempt would be made to clarify some of the problem areas of Planned Change. An examination of the concept Participation as a means of influence would comprise the contents of Chapter III.

Chapters IV to VI contain the analytical part of the thesis. These chapters would deal with a characterization and structural analysis of the two change approaches, an analysis of the two approaches in relation to resistance forces, and an analysis of the approaches through selected theoretical insights. The part of the thesis pertaining to conclusions would be contained in Chapter VII.

#### Limitations of the Study

As would be evident from clarifications to be made in the next chapter, the present study deals almost exclusively with a particular form of Planned Change, namely, those predetermined and significant alterations in client systems brought about as a result of some collaborative effort between the client systems and outside professional parties. In other words, the scope of the study is limited to an analysis only of those types of change that are based on the Change Agent-client system relationship.

This study does not deal with the vast subject area of unplanned change--the drift and thrust of large impersonal forces that have made significant breakthroughs in human history. A second limitation in the





scope of this study is that it has not taken into account those significant changes brought about as a result of social movements. Social movements are 'planned' in the sense that they are predetermined by human beings and in fact constitute one of the major forces of social change.

In addition to the limitations of scope, this study has further restrictions in terms of the range of literary material that has been covered. First, even in the somewhat narrow subject area of agent-client centered change, adequate information on certain sub-areas such as individual and group therapy, military and industrial organizations, and mass communications and religious conversion, has not been provided. Furthermore, it must be stated that case material and information relating to the sub-areas of Rural Sociology and Community Work that have been presented in the thesis are perhaps a bare minimum, particularly in consideration of the type of theoretical conclusions that have been derived on their basis. A wider coverage of cases and a more careful assessment of their worth would certainly have been more desirable for a study of this nature.



Notes to Chapter I

1. The exhaustive collection of readings prepared by Bennis and others is a good illustration of the cross-section of inter-disciplinary knowledge available in the field. See: Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne and Robert Chin, editors, The Planning of Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston Inc., 1961.
2. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Revised Edition, New York: The Free Press, 1957, p. 20.
3. Karl Mannheim, Diagnosis of Our Time, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1943., Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning, New York: Oxford University Press, 1950., Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1951.
4. Ralf Dahrendorf, Essays in the Theory of Society, Stanford University Press, 1968, pp. 14-18.
5. Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson and Bruce Westley, The Dynamics of Planned Change, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1958.
6. Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962.
7. Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963.
8. Dorwin Cartwright, "Influence, Leadership, Control," in James G. March, editor, Handbook of Organizations, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965, p. 3.
9. Merton, op. cit., p. 403.
10. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., p. 134.
11. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., pp. 257-258.





## CHAPTER II

### PLANNED CHANGE

#### The Subject Area of Planned Change

Definitions and discussions of Planned Change have a notoriety for elaborating the 'planning' notion, much to the neglect of the meaning of 'change'. For example, Lippitt and others refer to Planned Change as:

Change which derives from a purposeful decision to effect improvements in a personality system or social system and which is achieved with the help of professional guidance.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Bennis and others conceive of Planned Change as "a method" or a "conscious, deliberate and collaborative effort" aimed at solving social problems through the use of social technology and scientific knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Statements of the type just mentioned cover the dimensions of change goals, change means, change systems and change resources but not the change process itself. James Q. Wilson avoids this shortcoming when he says that centrally planned change ". . . refers to a significant alteration in a community's state of affairs . . . ." <sup>3</sup> Overemphasis of the planning facet is a trend that has attracted the attention of quite a few critics. While indicating the need to differentiate between planning and Planned Change, Sanders has suggested that most professional people are involved in planning, but not always for change.<sup>4</sup> In his comments on Community Development, A. K. Davis contends that a development program which does not envisage structural changes would remain only a change ideology.<sup>5</sup> An extreme form of over-concern for planning has been illustrated by Myrdal



according to whom planning is an ideology in the Third World.<sup>6</sup>

Before attempting to define Planned Change for the purpose of this study, it is necessary to identify and discuss some of the key issues that pertain to the formulation of such a definition. First, it is important to arrive at some conclusion regarding three questions that concern the term 'change'. These questions are: What are the units of change? What elements are changing? What constitutes change? Since Planned Change of the type discussed in this thesis refers to alterations in the social order as different from those in the physical order, the units of change would obviously be social systems. Following Lippitt and others, this study would use the term 'client system' to designate a specific system for which change is intended, whether it be an individual, a group, an organization, a community or a wider collectivity.<sup>7</sup>

The elements of change are value, belief, attitude, behavior and relationship. It will be noticed that the elements of change are not restricted to structural components. This procedure has been adopted because most operations of Planned Change do not necessarily envisage alterations of an exclusively structural nature. Hence, it would be concluded that instead of being a synonym for Planned Change, Planned Social Change is in fact an aspect of it.

For the purpose of this study the term change means a process of alteration in the established pattern of one or more elements of change mentioned earlier. For example, in a culture where it is customary for males to have their hair cut short, the taking of a regular hair cut would not constitute a change. On the other hand, allowing one's hair to grow would be a significant alteration of established practice.

Having clarified the term 'change', it is necessary to discuss





the term 'planning' in the context of Planned Change. Two questions that are related to the notion of planning are: What operations does planning entail? and What value premises is planning based on?

According to both Herbert J. Gans<sup>8</sup> and Martin Rein,<sup>9</sup> planning includes a method of decision making, that seeks the most efficient and effective way, by which goals and means could be brought together. Though their own definitions include additional dimensions of planning, they seem to agree on the three basic elements just paraphrased. According to Meier: "A plan is a course of action laid out in advance."<sup>10</sup> For the purpose of the present study it is adequate to conceive of a plan as 'a predetermined course of action', on the assumption that the three elements recognized by Gans and Rein above, are implicit in such a usage.

The question of values involves at least two major aspects, namely: the responsibility for Planned Change, and the nature of Planned Change. From the point of responsibility it is possible to conceive of three types of Planned Change. First, there is the type of Planned Change that could be effected by forces solely external to the client system. Centrally Planned Change as defined by Wilson,<sup>11</sup> and Directed Change as defined by Fathi<sup>12</sup> fall into this category. Second, there could be Planned Change brought about by forces solely internal to the client system. Third, Planned Change could be effected as a result of a joint effort between the client system and an outside party. The outside party could be either nonprofessional as in this case of volunteers or professional as in the case of paid Agents. The present study deals with Planned Change brought about as a result of joint effort between the client system and an outside professional party.



As regards the nature of Planned Change, authors such as Lippitt and others,<sup>13</sup> and Bennis and others<sup>14</sup> prefer to conceive of improvements in the social order. Their position is similar to the notion of developmental change. The present study however, will not take such a position on the nature of Planned Change, not because it wants to appear objective, but because Planned Change can also have negative or neutral aims and consequences as well.

In the light of the discussion made so far it is possible to define Planned Change as any predetermined process of alteration in the established patterns of value, belief, attitude, behavior or relationship that is adopted by a client system as a result of joint effort with an outside professional party. A change process could be predetermined, initiated or set in motion as a result of direct choice by the client system, an intervention by an outside professional party or both. However, the adoption of change would be a voluntary act on the part of the client system.

The most fundamental basis on which Planned Change could be examined, involves four basic issues that may be said to comprise its interdependent elements. These four issues are:

Change Goal--WHAT the change is about.

Change System--FOR WHOM the change is intended.

Change Resources--WITH WHAT the change is to be effected.

Change Means--HOW the change is to be effected.

These four issues could be conceptualized at three operative levels namely:

Ideology--that which provides for: 'a definition of the situation', prescriptions and preferences with regard to the





four basic issues, and philosophical and moral justifications for the WHY questions related to such decisions and choices.

Conceptualization--that which determines policy, and establishes the boundaries and general norms of conduct.

Implementation--that which is concerned with organization, administration, role specification and the less general kinds of choices and decisions.

This analytical scheme can be illustrated as follows:

Basic Issues				
Operative Levels	Change Goal	Change System	Change Resources	Change Means
Ideology				
Conceptualization				
Implementation				

Figure 1

#### BASIC ISSUES AND OPERATIVE LEVELS OF PLANNED CHANGE

Such a scheme offers a number of advantages. First, it provides for a general overview of the major problem areas in the field of Planned Change. Second, it helps in the clear identification of specific problem areas for research. For example, the present study is



concerned with the basic issue of Change Means. Third, the scheme helps to clarify terms and concepts that tend to present vague and ambiguous meanings.

### Change Means

The present study deals with Approaches to Planned Change. Based on the analytical scheme indicated earlier, it is possible to clarify the position of different Change Means so that the term 'Approaches' could be understood in the context of a wider perspective. The following page contains an illustration of this scheme.





Operative Levels	Change Means
Ideology	<u>Generalized Mechanisms, Ways or Modes;</u> <u>Forms; Pathways--</u> eg. Coercion, domination, persuasion, advice
Conceptualization	<u>Approaches--</u> eg. Central Planning, mass media, personal influence, social movements, people's organizations, action research
Implementation	<u>Strategies and Tactics--</u> eg. cooptation, withdrawal of patronage, creating crises. <u>Methods and Techniques--</u> eg. Lecture, discussion, print-outs, radio, films, demonstrations.

Figure 2

CHANGE MEANS AND THEIR OPERATIVE LEVELS



According to the preceding illustration the types of Change Means referred to by Talcott Parsons as 'generalized mechanisms', 'ways' or 'modes';<sup>15</sup> by Merton as 'forms';<sup>16</sup> by Katz and Lazarsfeld as 'ways';<sup>17</sup> and by Morris and Binstock as 'pathways',<sup>18</sup> could be considered as operating at the level of ideology.

On the other hand, Approaches indicate the general policy formulations on how change is introduced, carried or brought about. In certain types of Planned Change, approaches show how a 'systemic linkage'<sup>19</sup> is established between a change agency and a client system. The present study deals with Change Agent, and Agent Participation, as approaches attempting such systemic linkage. 'People's Organizations' advocated by Alinsky<sup>20</sup> and action research reported by Holmberg<sup>21</sup> are two other examples of 'approaches' to Planned Change.

Strategies and Tactics, and Methods and Techniques include a variety of Change Means operative at the level of implementation. In a recent study on the subject, Garth N. Jones refers to strategies and tactics as involving manipulation; that is, during the influence process the influenced are not aware that a manipulation is under way.<sup>22</sup> Methods and Techniques are the specific means of influence exerted in a non-manipulative manner.

### Resistance Forces

Any discussion of Planned Change that attempts to analyse or pose alternative courses of action must necessarily take into account the various sets of conditions under which such alternatives are likely to function. Resistance Forces comprise a set of such conditions which is applicable to most alternatives of action. Lippitt and others refer to Resistance Forces as: "Forces which may decrease the readiness of a





client system to change."<sup>23</sup> The same authors have also presented a general discussion on resistance forces, identifying the sources and manifestations of the more important obstacles to change.<sup>24</sup>

Based on their lead, it is possible to develop a more comprehensive scheme for the understanding of resistance forces. The types of resistance forces and their bases are illustrated on the next page. For convenience of discussion the six types of resistance forces have been labelled from A to F. The cells below the horizontal line running across the center of the illustration, indicate the likely bases of resistance to the corresponding types of resistance forces. It needs to be explained that the categories referred to in the illustration are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. They are included merely as a point of departure for analytical convenience.



## TYPE OF RESISTANCE FORCE

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	non-innovativeness of a client system	inadequacy of resources	a client system's resistance towards a specific change goal	resistance centered in a client system's relation with the Change Agent or Agency	resistance arising from a sub-part of the client system	resistance arising from related systems of the client system's environment
BASIS OF RESISTANCE	Lack of awareness	lacks resources	distrust of outcome	conflict over choice of change systems, goals, means, or resources		
		lacks development				
	desire for dependence	lacks potential for development	unacceptability of change goal			

Figure 3

RESISTANCE FORCES AND THEIR BASES



According to this scheme, Resistance Force A, noninnovativeness of a client system, is shown to be based on two major conditions. They are, lack of awareness, and the desire for dependence. The term non-innovativeness is used in this thesis to refer to, the general tendency in a client system to refrain from adopting any change.

The Wesenwille level of thinking identified by Tonnies as characteristic of Gemeinschaft entities, provides an important insight into the question of nonawareness. According to him, Wesenwille comprises the lesser developed forms of will such as liking, habit and memory, in contrast to the fully developed Kurwille of Gesellschaft entities. The Kurwille has the capacity to deliberate, discriminate and conceptualize, so that means and ends of social action could be differentiated.<sup>25</sup> Based on this line of analysis it could be argued that client systems similar to the Wesenwille mentality are likely to be more traditional than innovative. A similar theme has been expressed by Mannheim according to whom the "tribal" mind was rooted in the everyday experience of parochial life. Scientific thinking brings about 'a delocalization of the mind.'<sup>26</sup>

Though the lack of awareness may be a basis for a client system's tendency to be norm bound and traditional, the desire for dependence could be a more calculated basis for noninnovativeness. One form of dependence associated with the Community Development movement has been termed "the Encogido syndrome" by Erasmus.<sup>27</sup> Similarly Davis has suggested that the dependence syndrome in client systems may be a "front" used by them to exploit their patrons.<sup>28</sup>

The remaining five types of resistance forces are self-explanatory and require no elaboration. Sufficient information can be found in the research literature to justify their inclusion in the scheme.





## Influence

Two different ways of understanding the concept influence are, as a type of personal attribute, and as a form of social interaction.

Banfield's simple definition of influence as ". . . the ability to get others to act, think or feel as one intends,"<sup>29</sup> seems to fall into the first category. In contrast to such a conception, Parsons speaks of influence as,

a way of having an effect on the attitudes and opinions of others through intentional (though not necessarily rational) action--the effect may or may not be to change the opinion or to prevent a possible change.<sup>30</sup>

Despite its complexity, the present study will use the term influence in the same general sense as does Parsons, to denote any type of Change Means.

The approaches to be analysed in this research are not based on influence in general, or for that matter on social influence or personal influence, but on two sub-classes of interpersonal influence. According to Merton,

Interpersonal influence refers to the direct interaction of persons in so far as this affects the future behavior or attitudes of participants (such that this differs from what it would have been in the absence of interaction). (Merton's emphasis)<sup>31</sup>

Merton contends that:

Interpersonal influence implies an asymmetrical social relation: there is the influence and the influenced, with respect to any given behavior or attitude. Of course, reciprocal influence often occurs. But even in such instances, the degree of influence in both directions is seldom equal and is seldom exerted upon the same behavior. (Merton's emphasis)<sup>32</sup>

An examination of Merton's conceptualization yields two types of interpersonal influence namely: interpersonal unilateral influence,



and interpersonal reciprocal influence. In both types, the social relation can be symmetrical, but a symmetrical relation of influence can be found only with the latter. There are numerous studies that have been concerned with the bases, sources, methods and impact of influence. While acknowledging the usefulness of such research, the present study intends to focus attention on two dimensions of interpersonal influence.

Even in a pattern of interpersonal (two-way) communication, the nature of interpersonal influence can be of two types. That is, the flow of influence can either be in one direction or in both directions. To use Piaget's terminology, it is the difference between "unilateral respect" and "relations of constraint" on the one hand, and "mutual respect" and "relations of cooperation" on the other.<sup>33</sup>

### The Change Agent

A process of deliberated change often involves the service of personnel other than those for whom the change is intended. Professional persons, local leaders and the volunteers comprise three groups of such personnel for whom the term agents of change may be used.

As different from the term 'agent of change', the term 'Change Agent' has evolved into a status of conceptual importance in the literature on Planned Change. In their well known work on Planned Change, Lippitt and others have emphasized the characteristics of the Change Agent being an outsider to the client system.<sup>34</sup> Indicating that this is too narrow a conception, Bennis and others define Change Agent ". . . as any agent used by a client system to help bring about improved performances."<sup>35</sup> This definition is not very useful because its





adoption would lead to much confusion in distinguishing between professional workers, leaders, volunteers and related roles. Rogers defines Change Agent as "A professional person who attempts to influence adoption decisions in a direction that he feels is desirable."<sup>36</sup> This definition, however, conveys the notion of solely directed or non-negotiated change.

In a recent study Garth N. Jones has classified the concept agents into three types, namely: Change Agent, Change Catalyst, and Pacemaker.<sup>37</sup> According to him, the Change Agent is always a professional party, employed by the client system. The Change Agent which can be a person, a group or an organization, must always be present throughout the change process.<sup>38</sup> The Change Catalyst is said to be analogous to the catalyst in chemical reactions. He may or may not be a professional, but has the property to cause, speed up or slow down change, though he himself does not undergo a permanent change.<sup>39</sup> There is no need to paraphrase what has been said about the Pacemaker because he is not a major actor in the change process and does not come into operation until after the termination of change.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the use of the term 'catalyst', Ellery Foster and the Biddles seem to stress two different dimensions. Foster follows the analogy from chemistry when he speaks of catalysts as "leavening agents" who stimulate action in the community.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, the Biddles recognize the catalyst as one who does not undergo the change he intends bringing upon others.<sup>42</sup>

The present study proposes the continued usage of the term 'agents of change' to denote the broad category of personnel working for or with the client system. However, it is suggested that the term



'Change Agent' should be limited in meaning. This study will use the term Change Agent almost synonymous with the notion 'catalyst' in chemical reactions and some of the writings on developmental change.

Such a restricted usage of the term Change Agent would cover five basic characteristics. First it is necessary to reserve the term Change Agent to denote professional persons who are trained and employed to provide definite services. Such a conception would help in differentiating Change Agents from other agents of change such as local leaders and volunteers.

Second, it is considered useful if the usage Change Agent refers to a party outside the client system. This is not meant to suggest that the Change Agent should not be from the same locality or the interest group that the client system belongs to. Rather, it means only that the Change Agent is not a recipient of the change intended for the client system and to this extent he is considered outside the client system.

Third, it is proposed to restrict the concept to denote persons whose major performance area is accomplished on the basis of interpersonal influence. In the literature, the term Change Agent is used in referring to numerous rungs of statuses ranging from policy makers and civil servants to coordinators, regional administrators and grassroots field workers. There is no doubt that all these people are agents of change. However, it is felt that there should be a conceptual distinction between agents of change whose functions include face to face contact with the client system, and those whose functions are remote from intimate contact with the client system.

Fourth, it is necessary to indicate the nature of the Change Agent's function. As in the case of the catalyst in chemical reactions,





the Change Agent acts only as a leavening agent. That is, he does not bring about the change himself. Rather, his actions influence or stimulate the client system to adopt the proposed change.

Finally, this study proposes the usage Change Agent, to denote a person, rather than a group, an organization or an impersonal medium. This suggestion has been made purely for analytical convenience. It is of course, clear that change personnel, change agencies and most methods of change are in fact forms of change media. But to use the term Change Agent for all these forms of media is to collapse under one single term, a series of different conceptual meanings.

In the light of the above discussion, the present study would define the Change Agent as a professional person who attempts through interpersonal influence to effect Planned Change in a client system of which he is not a member.

This study deals with two approaches to Planned Change, namely: The Change Agent approach and the Agent Participation approach. Two important characteristics differentiate the latter from the former approach. The first and fundamental distinction is that the Agent in the Agent Participation approach, 'participates' in the change. In this sense, the term Participant Change Agent could be used to denote a Change Agent who participates in change. The second distinction is that, as a result of being a participant, the Participant Change Agent is also obliged to 'exemplify' change. On this criterion of change exemplification, the Change Agent as opposed to the Participant Change Agent, is like Weber's conception of the 'emissary' or 'ethical' prophet who while promoting change, need not become personally sanctified.<sup>43</sup> The fact that





the Agent in the Agent Participation approach participates in change, does not imply that he refrains from exercising influence on the client system.



Notes To Chapter II

1. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., p. vi.
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4. Irwin T. Sanders, "Professional Roles in Planned Change," in Robert Morris, ibid., p. 103.
5. Arthur K. Davis, "Comments on 'Community Development: Science or Ideology'," Human Organization, 27 (Spring, 1968), p. 85.
6. Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1968, pp. 707-935.
7. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., pp. 5-14.
8. Herbert J. Gans, "Regional and Urban Planning," in David L. Sills, editor, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, The MacMillan Company and the Free Press, Vol. 12, 1968, p. 129.
9. Martin Rein, "Welfare Planning," in David L. Sills, ibid., p. 143.
10. Richard L. Meier, "Resource Planning," in David L. Sills, ibid., p. 137.
11. Centrally Planned Change ". . . refers to a significant alteration in a community's state of affairs in accordance with the ends of some central agency that has the capacity to select those ends and the means for their attainment." James Q. Wilson, op. cit., p. 13.
12. Directed Change ". . . refers to the process of consciously and deliberately introducing an innovation into a community or group." Asghar Fathi, "Marginality, Leadership and Directed Change," Human Organization, 27 (Summer, 1968), pp. 145-146.
13. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., p. vi.
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15. Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," Public Opinion Quarterly, 27 (Spring, 1963), pp. 37-62.
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24. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., pp. 83-86.
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27. Charles J. Erasmus, "Community Development and the Encogido Syndrome," Human Organization, 27 (Spring, 1968), pp. 65-74.
28. Arthur K. Davis, op. cit., p. 85.
29. Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence, New York: The Free Press, 1961, p. 3.
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31. Merton, op. cit., p. 415.
32. Merton, op. cit., p. 417.
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34. Lippitt et. al., op. cit., p. 10.
35. Bennis et. al., op. cit., p. 17.
36. Rogers, op. cit., p. 17.
37. Garth N. Jones, op. cit., pp. 15-68.
38. Ibid., pp. 15, 24.



39. Ibid., pp. 16, 23, 24.
40. Ibid., p. 40.
41. Ellery Foster, "Planning for Community Development Through Its People," Human Organization, 12 (Summer, 1953), pp. 5-9.
42. W. W. and L. J. Biddle, The Community Development Process, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston Inc., 1965, p. 81.
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## CHAPTER III

### PARTICIPATION AS A MEANS OF INFLUENCE

#### Introduction

Despite its vague meaning, the term participation enjoys a status of frequent currency in the vocabulary of Planned Change. In every day usage however, it refers to, taking part, joining, or sharing in some activity. In reviewing a variety of ideas held by those whom he calls "professional participation stimulators," Murray G. Ross has listed four usages of the term namely, participation: for the sake of participation; for nourishing mental health of individuals; for the good of organizations rather than for their members; and for fostering awareness, understanding, responsibility and action.<sup>1</sup>

Academic writers too seem to differ in their own orientations to the concept of participation. In one of the earliest studies on the subject, Allport differentiated between ". . . mere activity as such and true, personal participation." According to him participation depends upon "ego-involvement" as opposed to "task-involvement."<sup>2</sup> Selznick prefers to use the term "substantive participation" in referring to the actual role in determining policy, and as different from forms of involvement.<sup>3</sup> Barnett has made a distinction between "passive" and "active" participation, the former akin to ". . . liking something or wanting it to happen" and the latter indicative of ". . . liking to do it or bringing it about oneself."<sup>4</sup> Coch and French found "total participation," "participation through representation," and "no participation" a useful classification for understanding resistance to change.<sup>5</sup> In his study of 190 cases of planned organizational change, Garth N. Jones has





identified 29 types of tactics that have been applied. Of these types participation scores highest with 12.16 per cent of times being applied.<sup>6</sup> Of participation as a tactic Jones concludes that "This tactic is no more than involving the individuals concerned in the decision making process before the actual change is introduced."<sup>7</sup>

### Perspectives of 'Participation'

There are four perspectives from which the concept participation could be examined. The first of these is: people as members of a system, participating in the affairs of either another system, or other persons. This perspective includes interactions such as a community's participation in a government program, a development agency's participation in the affairs of a community, and a welfare agency's participation in a people's self-improvement endeavour. Participation in this context entails a wide variety of activity ranging from different degrees of interest and involvement to actual authority in control and determining policy.

The second perspective deals with: people participating in a wider system. This could be discussed under three headings. First, there is the case of individuals participating in the affairs of an enterprise, an agency or an organization. Second, there is an area of activity commonly referred to as community participation. Numerous studies have been done in this field and the more popular indices of its measurement seem to be: membership and offices held in voluntary organizations, attendance at meetings, and involvement in various collective endeavors. The third heading covers people's participation in yet wider systems such as democracy, politics and modernization. For example,



Lerner speaks of "participant society" which can be measured in terms of urbanization, literacy, media exposure, and electoral participation.<sup>8</sup>

The third perspective deals with: people participating in an event or some activity. In this category an individual's participation need not necessarily involve an active enactment of the principle role areas in the event or activity. In other words, participation under this perspective could mean anything from nonmeaningful or passive spectatorship to active involvement.

The fourth perspective is: participation on an interpersonal basis. Under this category there is first, the broad realm of study covering group discussion as a joint decision making process, and numerous observations of small groups in task oriented situations. Second, there are those areas of interaction described by Goffman as "encounters" "focussed gatherings", and "situated activity systems."<sup>9</sup> A third area is what is often described as social participation. This variable is usually measured in terms of frequency and duration of interaction, home visits, social outings and so on. The area of social participation has been explored by Homans as a basis for defining the concept of 'group'.<sup>10</sup> A fourth category under this perspective views participation as a sub-class of social influence. This notion has been developed by John R. P. French Jr. and his associates.

#### Participation as Influence

According to French and others, participation is a:

. . . Process in which two or more parties influence each other in making certain plans, policies and decisions. It is restricted to decisions that have future effects on all those making the decisions and those represented by them.<sup>11</sup>

Following the lead of French and others, Vroom has defined





participation as a ". . . process of joint decision making by two or more parties in which the decisions have future effects on those making them."<sup>12</sup>

The foregoing excerpts contain two significant ideas. First, there is an emphasis of participation as a process of mutual influence between persons. Second, the decisions arrived at are said to have future effects on those responsible for the decisions. Since one of the Change Approaches to be analysed in the present study is based on reciprocal influence, it is proposed to follow the conceptualization of participation demonstrated in the above paragraph. For the purpose of this research, participation would be referred to, as a process of joint decision making by which two or more parties directly influence each other on matters having future effects on them and those they represent.

It is justifiable to assert that participation could involve an interaction process where cooperation, discussion, and sharing of common experiences would lead to a mutual advancement of knowledge or gratification among the members concerned. Goodenough contends that communication implies a sharing of experience and mutual understanding. To him, successful communication depends not so much on areas of consensus but on the desire to share experience.<sup>13</sup> Participation of this sort implies not only a pattern of interpersonal communication but also a pattern of interpersonal influence providing for change. Elaborating on Sullivan's thesis, Zaleznik and Moment refer to individual change as an interpersonal process yielding alterations in the intra-personal aspects of the individual. They show the necessity to differentiate between social conformity and significant change, or socialization process and personality change.<sup>14</sup>



The typical influence procedure in the Change Agent approach is based on obtaining the cooperation of a client system towards effecting change. The fact that an Agency is seeking the cooperation of a client system to effect a change program, is either stated or implied by that Agency, or is often taken for granted by the client system. The need for people's participation and involvement is based on the assumption that, to change others requires 'their' cooperation. This is indeed correct if the responsibility for change, and the ownership of the program are 'ours'. In such a context participation is not a Change Means practiced by the Change Agent, but a Change Means expected of the client system. In other words, participation in this sense is not a way of influence. On the other hand it is possible to identify two types of influence that can be brought about by the Participant Change Agent. The first of these is the type of interpersonal reciprocal influence referred to in the preceding paragraphs. A second type is the interpersonal unilateral influence, based on the fact that the Change Agent's major performance area is the enabling of change.

Therefore, the statement made in this thesis that the Agent Participation approach is 'based' on interpersonal reciprocal influence, does not imply that the agent refrains from exercising interpersonal unilateral influence. On the contrary, the effective exercising of unilateral influence is largely dependent upon his role as a participant in Change. This argument would be developed in Chapter V.





Notes to Chapter III

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6. Garth N. Jones, op. cit., p. 122.
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## CHAPTER IV

### THE CHANGE AGENT APPROACH

#### The Exercise of Control

The purpose of this chapter and the next is to characterize and assess the effectiveness of the Change Agent and Agent Participation approaches to Planned Change. Towards understanding the major structural determinants and consequences of the influence process, it is proposed to utilize the concept of control as the main analytical tool. The justification for the choice of this concept is its indispensable companionship with the conceptualization of most types of social action.

In its broadest sense Control ". . . refers to the operations of constraints that govern what men do."<sup>1</sup> In the social sciences it has been customary to classify the concept Control into Formal, and Informal or Social Control. Formal Control refers to the laws and rules associated with the various institutions of society. On the other hand, Social Control has been viewed as a re-equilibrating mechanism that helps individuals to counteract deviant tendencies of role expectations in themselves or others. The social determinants of normative regulation are implicit in the writings of Durkheim. He has implied two such sources namely; rules which have been internalized by the individual in the social aggregate, and rules applied from a source of external authority.<sup>2</sup>

Goodenough seems to be following this tradition of thinking when he classifies the concept Control into External and Internal types. The former type refers to checks and balances that tend to counteract deviance in societies and groups. These controls whether formal or



informal, work best only when a person's chances of doing wrong without others knowing it are minimal. Internal Control refers to the inhibiting constraints built in through socialization, and the self-image one has of himself.<sup>3</sup>

### The Catalyst Role

In the literature, the term Change Agent is generally used as denotative of a factor, a means, or more closely a catalyst, as opposed to a doer or prime actor in a change process. However, some writers on community work seem to disassociate themselves from advocating the notion of Change Agent on various grounds. For example, the Biddles object to the term on the grounds that it suggests a person who has made prior decisions on the changes to be effected. Here they seem to be referring to specific changes. They prefer the term "encourager" in referring to a person who initiates a process.<sup>4</sup> The same argument is offered by others who suggest terms such as 'animator' and 'enabler'. The present study does not make a distinction between persons attempting to bring about specific and general changes. Therefore, initiating a process is a form of bringing about Planned Change, and one who is employed for such purpose is a Change Agent. In passing, it is worthwhile to recognize the fact that initiating a process is likely to bring about a more pervasive change than that achieved through specific change ventures.

It is possible to understand the catalyst role of the Change Agent on the basis of a number of underlying issues. First, the notion of a Change Agent as catalyst necessarily implies an outsider to the client system. He not only functions as someone performing a communication link between two systems, but also as a person attempting to change





the way of life of one of the parties while formally representing the other. In fact the systemic linkage he attempts to establish is only a means towards facilitating change in one of the systems.

Second, the Change Agent would only initiate and/or accelerate change. He is known to animate, stimulate, encourage or even enable change, but not to assume the total responsibility for it.

Third, the Change Agent does not himself necessarily undergo the transformation he expects of his clients. In fact he is not expected by his Agency or client system, to adopt and experience the changes he is known to sponsor.

A fourth consideration is that the catalyst is not usually subjected to any direct controls by the client system. Selznick has reported that the people of Tennessee Valley do not seem to have any significant control over the TVA, beyond congressional appeal.<sup>5</sup> According to Mandelbaum, the greatest evil in planned social change in India is that the villagers have no social control over outside technical help.<sup>6</sup> Of course, it has to be recognized that Change Agents have a great degree of obligation and commitment both to their client systems as well as to the philosophical foundations that guide their respective development ideologies. However, such a commitment does not imply any form of external control by the client system.

Fifth, there need not necessarily be any initial concurrence between the catalyst and the client system with regard to the nature and direction of change. This is quite clear in Extension and has been demonstrated in the definition of Change Agent offered by Rogers.<sup>7</sup> In Community Development this issue is somewhat different because the Community Development Agent does not decide or direct any specific



changes that he thinks are desirable. But it has to be acknowledged that he considers some form of change to be desirable. In broad terms at least he believes that Community Development is something worthwhile for the people. Whether a client system accepts the idea or not, it is clear that some initial decision has been made.

Sixth, it has to be recognized that the Change Agent has to develop certain strategies and techniques that facilitate the effective performance of his role. Establishing rapport, exploring the 'felt needs', working with the 'real leaders', developing an empathetic understanding, and stimulating the cooperation and involvement of the client system are only a few items that comprise the repertoire of the Change Agent's conduct. Sometimes he must learn to use the term 'we', even if his own ego is not involved in the affairs of the client system.

Finally, a comment has to be added on what is often called 'the role of the Change Agent'. It has been customary for most authors writing on Planned Change, to discuss and list items pertaining to the role of the Change Agent. Even a cursory glance at some of these descriptions would reveal that these authors do not mean the same thing when they refer to the term 'role'. Therefore most listings of items on what the role should be, contain unsystematic and even contradictory information on what role the Change Agent should perform. It is not uncommon to find in the literature such desirable personal attributes as empathy and patience, listed among the items that are said to comprise the role.

#### Processes in the Change Agent Approach

Taken in its totality, the Change Agent approach generates three distinct processes. First, the Change Agent's role itself is a behavior





pattern of exercising unilateral influence. Though he serves the client system at the level of personal contact, he belongs to an out-group by virtue of his holding office under the control of an outside administrative authority. This formal control compels him to resort to various means of influence in bringing about change.

The second process is manifest in the role of local leadership. The leader functions in an in-group context under the jurisprudence of social control, which compels him to conform with group norms and demonstrate new ideas through a process of exemplification. The Change Agent approach has always been cognizant of this leadership phenomenon and usually many elaborate programs are designed to discover, train and develop good leadership for ventures in Planned Change.

A third process is that of volunteering to do something for a wider system or other persons, either with or without their assistance. The motivation to volunteer can be the result of personal choice or external pressure. The volunteer is placed in either an out-group or in-group context with corresponding structural controls. The act of volunteering need not by itself contribute towards the volunteer enjoying in-group identity with the client system. Like the leader, the volunteer too has long been an indispensable figure in the Change Agent approach.

The structural composition of the Change Agent approach could be illustrated as follows: .

Change Agent--Employment & Formal Control--Inducement

Leader--Group Identity & Social Control--Exemplification

Volunteer--Out/In Group--Formal/Social Control--Volunteering

It will be noticed that the types of influence brought about through the three processes are Inducement, Exemplification, and





Volunteering. All three of these processes are unilateral in the sense that reciprocity of influence is not the basis of the interaction relationship. In fact, none of them utilize participation as a means of influence.

A final observation that can be made with reference to the influence process in general, is that the processes of inducement, exemplification, and volunteering, lack interdependence in functioning as one systemic process. Despite the effort taken to ensure coordination among the different parties in a change program, a great disparity has always to be reckoned with, in the realm of control. The Change Agent, leader and volunteer are different with respect to their major role areas and the sources of control. On specific occasions the three parties may even lack meaningful agreement on the goals and means of a change program. The issues of goals, coordination and interdependence are closely connected to the mechanics of control, and it is difficult to envisage the Change Agent approach as one systemic process because its component sub-systems do not owe allegiance to a common source of authority. In spite of the strength and resources that the three combined forces of inducement, exemplification and volunteering have the potential to muster, a change program could be ineffective merely because of the diversity of controls that regulate the types of influence.

#### Implications of the Approach

It is possible, at this stage, to make some observations on the implications of the Change Agent Approach. These comments are offered on the basis of three analytical categories namely, the Change Agent, the Leader, and the Client System.



### The Change Agent

The Change Agent owes his formal position to an employer or some Agency and the conduct of his role is regulated by the discipline of administrative control. The Biddles have noted that "Community developers who work with the underdog often identify so much with their 'clients' that they lose the objectivity to make a compassionate process of growth possible. Too easily they conceive of themselves as spokesmen for or defenders of the victims of discrimination."<sup>8</sup> This kind of commitment makes the Change Agent clearly obligated to serve some cause that may not necessarily be the purpose for which he was employed. However noble may be the cause he stands for, it is not likely that he can survive the rigors of a bureaucratic discipline that could make contrary demands.

The Change Agent is both an outsider to the client system and an employee of some bureaucratic organization. Because he is an outsider he need not have any stakes in the client system he serves. Though he may have a moral obligation to the client system in a philosophical sense, there is no guarantee of it in practice. For example, Goodenough has cited that the Indian village level officer is authoritative, paternalistic and aloof in his dealings with the people. Such a social distance is said to help officials' control over the people.<sup>9</sup> It is generally accepted in the Change Agent Approach that the Change Agent should be if at all, the last person to seek credit for a successful program. In reality he can also be the last person to receive blame for an ineffective program, because many factors such as apathy of the community, improper leadership, non-coordination of services could contribute to the failure of a program. Another implication is that the Change Agent is likely to be adapted to the demands of the bureaucratic disposition





not merely because he wants to be so, but because he is conditioned to be so. Erasmus has observed that some Change Agents are better at demonstrating social distance than new ideas.<sup>10</sup> Finally, being an employee of a bureaucratic organization the Change Agent is not compelled to continue with a client system if his defects and failures are being noticed or exposed. He could be transferred out or in an extreme instance fully relieved of his duties.

Two factors contribute to the situation why the Change Agent is not subjected to social control by the client system. First, he does not really belong to the client group. The verbal expression 'we' in the influence situation need not mean that either of the two parties perceive the Change Agent's role as one that constitutes a 'we' in any affective sense of group identity. To borrow a phrase from Goffman, that which prevails if at all is only a "we rationale", the sentiments of a fleeting encounter.<sup>11</sup> Second, the Change Agent is not an exemplar of change. The client system perceives him to be primarily an employee of some outside agency appointed to accomplish a task of work. Functioning neither as member nor exemplar to the group, the Change Agent remains strictly within the authority of an outside formal control. Formal control is unavoidable whereas other controls are optional or even avoidable. To the Change Agent therefore, inducement as a means of unilateral influence remains the major performance area of his role composition.

Based on the comments offered so far, one important conclusion can be drawn namely, that the Change Agent is not a member of the client system in any sense of group identity. In Chapter II of this thesis the Change Agent was defined as an outsider to the client system in the



sense that he is not a recipient of change. The present analysis goes to show that no conduct in his role composition enables the Change Agent to enjoy group identity with the client system. In a way, he is similar to "the stranger" described by Simmel, as a person attempting to import ideas into a group that he does not belong to.<sup>12</sup> He is always a potential transient who need not have any stakes in the soil. The inducement interaction can best be described in terms of what Goffman calls "encounters" and "focussed gatherings", which as different from groups, cannot exist unless when the members are physically together.<sup>13</sup>

### The Leader

In the realm of leadership, the most challenging task is the selection of proper leaders. Often this is an unsatisfactory exercise. Also it is difficult to ascertain whether the real goals of the leaders are congruent with the goals set by the change agency. Problems are likely to emerge when a change agency takes deliberate action to ascribe leadership status to persons and label them so. Once persons have been officially recognized as leaders, the change agency is in no position to withdraw this status, because leaders remain outside the purview of agency control. If the selected leadership happens to be ineffective, very little can be done to remedy the situation. The manifest conflicts in change programs are sometimes the consequence of latent hostilities between ex-leaders and new leaders.

In his study of immigrants in Israel, Eisenstadt found that leadership patterns change with new situations, and that the old elite is ineffective in translating knowledge about wider systems to their followers.<sup>14</sup> Change of leadership pattern is, of course, natural to any





community. The problems arise when the change agency has to involve itself with the ramifications of this process. Wood states that the notion of ascribing power by majority vote is alien to the traditions of Indian leadership.<sup>15</sup> In this kind of context, the change agency faces an obvious dilemma. On the one hand, the recognition of a new elite elected on democratic principles would upset the stability and authority structure of a community. On the other hand, a continued recognition of traditional leadership hampers progress, and frustrates the emerging elites whose aspirations are usually more demanding than what the social system and the change process can afford to provide. This latter problem has been well portrayed by Erasmus in his characterization of the "entron" syndrome.<sup>16</sup>

### The Client System

From the point of view of the client system, the Change Agent does not display a 'we' identity with any essential significance. Hence could arise a spontaneous resistance to ideas posed by him. People need not accept innovations merely because they are offered by experts or because such ideas have been well received elsewhere. Sometimes people are more likely to accept the ideas of persons they have closer identity with. Foote has clearly argued the point that identification is the very basis of motivation, and the process by which individuals are meaningfully linked with others.<sup>17</sup> The fact that the Change Agent's role is executed on the basis of personal contact with the client system does not by itself provide for his enjoying group identity.

When there is no basis for group identity, outsiders have to be ascribed certain roles either according to the client system's past





experience with similar persons or according to immediately perceived notions about them. Sibley reports that teachers involved in a Community Development program in the Philippines were perceived by the villagers in a "not knowing" role.<sup>18</sup> Another tendency on the part of the client system is to expect more assistance and resources from quarters that the Change Agent is known to represent.

In isolated communities, an outsider could be perceived as a threat to in-group solidarity. The Change Agent too is perceived to be an outsider no doubt, but often as one who has the capacity to draw on outside resources that are considered beneficial to the client system.

The Change Agent and volunteer can also be ascribed a high level of status, prestige and even power by the client system. The fact that the Agent or volunteer 'comes down' to the level of the client system does not mean that therefore they are absorbed into the group identity of the client system. Rather, they may be perceived to be more privileged persons symbolic and representative of an outside system. Sometimes the client system may look upon the Change Agent or volunteer as a convenient guardian or spokesman for the client system, and one whose services could be relied upon in times of local crises related to the wider system. This function of the Change Agent and volunteer is a consequence which is often unanticipated in the Change Agent Approach.

### Resistance Forces

In Chapter II of this thesis an attempt was made to illustrate the major manifestations of resistance to change, and the bases upon which they were likely to operate. In this regard six types of resistance forces were identified. The purpose of the present discussion is



to make some observations on the likely problems the Change Agent would face in attempting to overcome these resistance forces.

The first observation that can be made is that the Change Agent may not be able to identify the basis of resistance with regard to a specific resistance force as it manifests itself in a concrete situation. In some instances where such identification is possible it may take him more time for it than is desirable. In fact it is not uncommon to find examples of Change Agents who spend considerable time in diagnosing why a particular client system offers resistance to change. There are at least two ways by which the basis for a particular resistance can be clearly understood. One method is to find out from those offering resistance. A second method is to undergo the same experience as the client system so that the reason for resistance could be better understood. With regard to certain bases of resistance such as the desire for dependence, it may not be easy for a Change Agent to obtain the necessary information by asking people. In fact, it could be asserted that there is likely to be a whole range of information that a client system would withhold from those considered outside the client group. Since the Change Agent does not enjoy group identity with the client system he is not likely to have available to him, all the information that a group member would be normally entitled to. As regards the second method of experiencing what the client system undergoes, it is not possible for the Change Agent to adhere to such a procedure, because almost by definition he does not participate in change.

A second general observation is that the Change Agent may not be in a position to bring about an alteration in the bases of resistance even after they are identified. At least three factors contribute to





this situation. First, by virtue of his office in a formal organization, the Change Agent may lack the flexibility of action, and the supply of resources, to intervene successfully in overcoming resistance. Second, the Change Agent may find that his suggestion or solution to the problem is unacceptable to the client system simply because he is an outsider. Third, it may even be possible that a Change Agent considers the overcoming of resistance, not his problem as such if he is not likely to be reprimanded for failure to do so. Emery and Oeser have noted of the District Agricultural Officer that, "Even if all the sheep die, his salary will continue."<sup>19</sup>

The above discussion is not intended to convey a one sided appraisal that the Change Agent is incapable of bringing about remedial measures to overcome resistance. The advantages of his role in this regard, such as the ability to make objective assessments and arbitrate between conflicting parties, are too well known. The observations made were intended only to highlight the difficulties rather than listing the advantages.



Notes to Chapter IV

1. Zaleznik and Moment, op. cit., p. 98.
2. See for example B. P. Dohrenwend, "Egoism, Altruism, Anomie and Fatalism," American Sociological Review, 24 (August, 1959), p. 472.
3. Goodenough, op. cit., pp. 349-351.
4. W. W. and L. J. Biddle, op. cit., p. 260.
5. Philip Selznick, "Dilemmas of Leadership and Doctrine in Democratic Planning," in Alvin W. Gouldner, editor, Studies in Leadership, New York: Harper and Row, 1950, p. 574.
6. David G. Mandelbaum, "Planning and Social Change in India," Human Organization, 12 (Fall, 1953), p. 9.
7. Rogers, op. cit., p. 17.
8. W. W. and L. J. Biddle, op. cit., p. 112.
9. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 421.
10. Cited in Rogers, op. cit., p. 271.
11. Goffman, op. cit., p. 18.
12. The Sociology of Georg Simmel, Kurt H. Wolff, editor, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950, pp. 402-405.
13. Goffman, op. cit., pp. 9-14.
14. S. N. Eisenstadt, "Communication Processes among Immigrants in Israel," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16 (Spring, 1952), pp. 51-56.
15. Evelyn Wood, "Leadership in Community Development," International Review of Community Development, 8 (1961), pp. 67-77.
16. Erasmus, op. cit.
17. Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as a Basis for a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review, 16 (February, 1951), pp. 14-21.
18. W. E. Sibley, "Social Structures and Planned Change," Human Organization, 19 (Fall, 1960-1961), p. 210.
19. Cited in Rogers, op. cit., p. 256.



## CHAPTER V

### THE AGENT PARTICIPATION APPROACH

#### Group Identity Through Participation

In Chapter III it was contended that the role of the Participant Change Agent would provide for two types of influence namely, reciprocal influence resulting from the Agent participating in change, and unilateral influence resulting from the Agent enacting his major performance area of enabling change. The conclusion of Chapter IV was that the Change Agent does not enjoy a status of group identity with the client system.

The early part of the present chapter is intended towards demonstrating how the act of participation on the part of the Change Agent would contribute to his enjoying group identity with the client system. The term group identity is used to denote a sense of belonging to a group. As theoretical guidance for this discussion, it is proposed to utilize the conceptual scheme on group behavior formulated by George C. Homans.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose at hand it is adequate to summarize this scheme as follows.

The basic conceptual scheme for the study of groups consists of persons, and three elements of their behavior namely, activity, interaction and sentiment.<sup>2</sup> These elements are mutually dependent and may operate as an internal system and an external system. A combination of these two systems comprises a total social system.<sup>3</sup> Norms are ideas in the minds of group members, ideas that specify expected behavior.<sup>4</sup> In small group behavior, social control is not a separate activity as such, but a property inherent in the relations among the elements of behavior.<sup>5</sup>

Control is a process by which, if a man departs from his





existing degree of obedience to a norm, his behavior is brought back toward that degree, or would be brought back if he did depart.<sup>6</sup>

An observation on group behavior could be stated in hypothesis form as, other things being equal, an increase of interaction between persons is accompanied by an increase of sentiments of liking among them.<sup>7</sup> Some of the 'other things' which should be 'equal' are, activity, authority, and group integration. Activity for example, is an emotionally neutral element, and therefore it is the very nature of the activity that has a bearing on the positive or negative character of sentiment. Similarly, if an exercise of authority enters the interaction situation it could generate negative sentiments among the members.<sup>8</sup>

In the light of the above scheme it is possible to conceptualize participation as a form of interaction, which makes the participant members enjoy a status of group identity. Though there is no indication to the effect that Homans uses the term participation in the same sense as it has been defined in Chapter III of this thesis, he refers to one's participation in others' activity as a form of interaction.<sup>9</sup> He also states that "Our word for 'participating together' is interaction: a group is defined by the interactions of its members." (Homans' emphasis)<sup>10</sup>. The justification for the usage of the term participation (as defined in this thesis) as a form of interaction, could be gathered from Homans' clarification of his usage of the concept interaction.

When we refer to the fact that some unit of activity of one man follows, or, if we like the word better, is stimulated by some unit of activity of another, aside from the question of what these units may be, then we are referring to interaction. (Homans' emphasis)<sup>11</sup>.

The Agent Participation approach is based on the principle of the Change Agent participating with the client system in the change that is



to be brought about. Following Homans it could be argued that, other things being equal, an increase of participation between persons is accompanied by an increase of sentiments of liking among them. At this stage it is possible to elaborate on two of the 'other things' or conditions that must be 'equal'. The first of these is the nature of the activity. In the case of a Change Agent participating with the client system, if the activity of participation is irritable or non-gratifying to the members it is not likely that there would be an increase in the duration or frequency of such participation. On the contrary the logical outcome of such a situation would be for the Change Agent to withdraw from the participation setting or to change the nature of the activity of participation so that it would be more rewarding to the members. On the other hand if the activity of participation is gratifying to the members it is plausible to assume that there would be an increase in participation on their part.

The second condition that could be considered is that of authority. In the typical Change Agent approach it is very likely that an Agent appears in some role of authority in the eyes of the client system. This could be either because of the formal status he holds or because of the special knowledge he is presumed to possess. For example, French and Raven have suggested that the expert power of an Agent can meet with resistance if his referent power is negative or unreliable in the eyes of the client system.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand it is assumed that the act of participation itself on the part of the Agent would minimize the client system's perception of him in a role of authority. Participation is a cooperative endeavour based on mutual respect among participants and to this extent it could be asserted that the very act of participation





transforms the statuses of the members involved, to a uniform status of equality. Participation is not a process of interaction among equals. Rather, the act of participation transforms differentiated statuses to that of equals.

Referring back to Homans' scheme again it could be stated that an increased participation on the part of the Change Agent would result in an increased level of interplay between the three elements of activity, interaction, and sentiment, as far as the Change Agent and the client system are concerned. Such a system of behavior would according to Homans' thesis constitute the very basis of a group.

If it is justifiable to conclude that the act of participation on the Change Agent's part contributes towards his attaining some amount of group identity with the client system, it follows almost logically that the Change Agent would be subjected to a substantial area of social control as far as the norms of the client system are concerned. This statement is not meant to suggest that, just because the Change Agent attains a group identity with the client system through participation, that he is bound to some degree by the social controls characteristic to the client system. The statement referred to an area and not to a degree of social control. In this context the area of social control refers to that portion of sanctions which apply to the client system, only by virtue of the fact that the clients are the recipients of change. In other words, by the act of participating with the client system and being included in its group composition, the Change Agent falls under the jurisdiction of normative controls only in so far as they apply to behavior arising out of the participation situation and related matters of Planned Change.



A contrast to this would be the position of a local leader or just a member of a client system. A leader is not necessarily ascribed that status because his group is also a client system but simply because it is a group. Therefore, unlike the Participant Change Agent, his behavior is regulated by criteria that have a greater characteristic of diffuseness than specificity. Similarly a group member's behavior may be assessed by criteria more diffuse than those utilized to assess the Participant Change Agent. This is because both a leader and a group member are likely to enact more roles and also have interest in areas of group life that extend beyond the perimeters of Planned Change. The major conclusion of the discussion presented above is that, in contrast to the Change Agent, the Participant Change Agent is able to attain a status of group identity with the client system in so far as on matters pertaining to Planned Change.

#### Agent Participation as a Dual Control Approach

In Chapter IV it was emphasized that the performance area of the Change Agent is regulated by the prescriptions and sanctions of formal control, by virtue of the office held by him. It was also stated that, though he may have a feeling of commitment or obligation to the client system he is not subjected to the social controls of the client system.

On the other hand, a leader, whether of the client system or any group, is subjected to social control and therefore also to the informal controls with reference to the group. Elaborating on what a leader must do to maintain his social rank in the group, Homans has stated that "The leader must live up to the norms of the group--all the norms--better than any follower."<sup>13</sup> This oft quoted statement has been modified by





Homans himself in one of his later works. He has stated that, it is certainly an overstatement to contend that a man of high status would conform to a high degree to all the norms of his group. Rather, a man must provide rare and valuable services to his group if he is to maintain a high status.<sup>14</sup> The innovativeness and authority of the leader are acceptable to his group only if certain other conditions too are fulfilled. First, it is necessary that the leader should have accepted the group norms before the group accepts his norms. Second, "He must also be as zealous as anyone else in obeying his own orders," because "The old command 'Do as I say, not as I do', is fatal to leadership."<sup>15</sup> Third, "The leader's future orders will be obeyed because the members of the group have not regretted their obedience to his past orders."<sup>16</sup> In the final analysis, it is the social control of the group exercised through normative prescriptions that keeps both group and leadership alive. Though the leader may certainly maintain a 'moving equilibrium', his role is not necessarily one of diffusing innovations or effecting changes in the system. He may even lack both the knowledge and the desire for change.

By virtue of the peculiar nature of his role, the Participant Change Agent is subjected to a form of dual control. On the one hand, his major role area is the facilitating of change. In this respect he resembles the Change Agent because his formal allegiance is to an administrative authority that exercises formal control over him. On the other hand, not being a catalyst but a participant, the Participant Change Agent functions within the jurisdiction of that area of social control peculiar to the client system. This group is likely to expect of him to demonstrate what changes he is attempting to bring upon others.





This demand places him in a position very much similar to that of a leader. The leader has his position in a group because he is a member of it, and since every idea he innovates for the group is a potential risk to his own status. The Participant Change Agent is placed more precariously because his principle concern itself is the effecting of Planned Change. Therefore, as an agent and as participant he functions within the jurisdiction of both formal and social control that respectively demand inducement and exemplification on his part. The structure of this dual control approach could be presented as follows:

Participant	<u>Employment &amp; Formal Control--Inducement</u>
Change Agent	Participation,--Exemplification & Volunteering. Group Identity, & Social Control

The above illustration would serve in the understanding of the effectiveness of the approach as a means of Planned Change. The following discussion will attempt to demonstrate how the simultaneous operation of the two types of control would strengthen the three processes of influence namely, inducement, exemplification and volunteering.

In the case of inducement it is quite clear that the main source of pressure is through formal control. But the process of inducement could be ensured by the demands of social control as well, because the Participant Change Agent enjoys a status of group identity with the client system, and the built-in self image of himself in reference to this group calls for an accomplishment of his major performance area too. Goodenough says that the self image aspect of internal control is one of the most effective of controls, and that the fear of losing one's image is a major motivating force in human action.<sup>17</sup> The process of



exemplification too is likely to be intensified through the operation of the two controls, because on the formal side there is pressure for inducing change, whereas on the group side there is social control demanding a demonstration of ideas that are being sponsored. Volunteering is also an inevitable result from the point of view of the Participant Change Agent's conduct because, on the one hand he is formally directed to induce change, while on the other hand he enjoys group identity with the client system and is therefore a fellow worker on activities arising from the participation situation. Some researchers have observed that the act of volunteering is a special case of behavior in conformity with social norms and the structure of the social field, than that determined by mere personality factors.<sup>18</sup>

### The Participant Change Agent

From the point of view of the client system the Participant Change Agent is a blend of three role compositions. First, he is an expert in their eyes because he is presumed to have some special education, training or at least an aptitude in his major performance area for which he has been appointed. Second, he is a member in terms of group identity because he participates in change. The group has trust in the knowledge he is prepared to share with them, because he too has personal stakes in an innovation as much as they. Lionberger who studied four possible social situations conducive to change, found that the most effective results in innovation diffusion were, where the information seeker and the one sought were members of the same informal group.<sup>19</sup> Third, the Participant Change Agent also resembles a leader because he exemplifies what he is attempting to induce in others. In this respect





he has personal stakes in an innovation far more than they. According to Goodenough, a prestigious Agent will be listened to more, but will be told less.<sup>20</sup> The Participant Change Agent is a person who can be listened to, as well as be spoken to, because he has the prestige of his formal status, and the esteem of his own position in the group.

The effectiveness of a change approach is to a great extent based on the nature of 'systemic linkage' established between a change agency and a client system. In the Change Agent approach, the basis for systemic linkage could be considered as, a two-way communication pattern and a mutual involvement of interests between the change agency and the client system. For example, Hardee has operationalized what he calls a high degree of systemic linkage, in terms of, the exchange of ideas on farming and homemaking between extension agents and clients, home visits made by agents, and the clients' participation in various activities sponsored by the change agency.<sup>21</sup> The major difference in the pattern of systemic linkage between the Change Agent and the Agent Participation approaches is that, in the latter approach, the Agent is accountable to the client system by virtue of his being subjected to the social controls of the group. Emery and Oeser have emphasized that, the fact of living in a community does not by itself enable an agricultural officer to secure linkage with a client system, because he is not accountable to the client system for his official responsibilities. According to Emery and Oeser ". . . the definition of an 'outsider' rests on the direction and location of a person's accountability," and therefore, irrespective of his status and esteem in the client system, the agricultural officer is sociologically an "outsider".<sup>22</sup> In contrast, the very basis of systemic linkage in Agent Participation, can be described as one of making the Agent



accountable to the client system.

In the typical catalyst approach, the Change Agent, leader and volunteer respectively induce, exemplify and volunteer, with little interdependence among their role areas. The role of the Participant Change Agent attempts to combine in the activities of one person, the processes of: showing others how things should be done, doing things so that others may see, and doing things with others so that all may see. While providing rare and valuable services the leader must also demonstrate the norms of the group. In fact he demonstrates knowledge, whereas the Change Agent mediates knowledge of one system to another. The Participant Change Agent reflects in one system the knowledge from another.

Over twenty five years ago, Thomas Eliot remarked that external planning and control reduces community capacity to control and predict their own behavior. He suggested that ". . . only by holding expert planners democratically responsible to those planned for, can the latter maintain in some sense control over their own situation-processes."<sup>23</sup> The Participant Change Agent is certainly no expert planner. But he is one link in the process of Planned Change, one who is democratically responsible to those planned for.

### Resistance Forces

At the end of Chapter IV, two general observations were made with regard to some of the problems that the Change Agent is likely to face in attempting to overcome the forces of resistance to change.

The first observation was that the Change Agent may encounter considerable difficulties in identifying the bases of resistance. Two reasons were provided in this connection namely, first, that the Change





Agent does not enjoy group status with the client system and second, that he does not undergo the experiences of the client system. Dealing with the first of these reasons, it could be stated that, in the Agent Participation approach the Agent does enjoy group status with the client system and therefore is likely to have available to him, more information useful for ascertaining the bases of resistance. With regard to the second reason, of undergoing the experiences of the client system, it has already been concluded in this thesis that the Participant Change Agent would participate with the client system in the changes that are contemplated for it. From the vantage point of an actor or an actual doer, the Agent should be able to grasp the major obstacles to change.

The second general observation made in the last Chapter was that the Change Agent may not be in a position to bring about alterations in the bases of resistance even after they are identified. In this regard three reasons were offered. The first of these concerns the fact that by virtue of his office in a formal organization, the Change Agent may lack the resources and the flexibility of action to intervene in overcoming resistance. This difficulty could be greatly minimized under the Agent Participation Approach. The formal authority that directs the performance of the Participant Change Agent is well aware that the latter's role involves a participation in change. In the event of most types of resistance forces the Change Agency has only two courses of action it can adopt namely, either to provide maximum facilities for the Change Agent to attempt at overcoming the resistance, or to withdraw the Change Agent from the change program. The second reason offered in the last Chapter with regard to this general observation was that some of the solutions offered by the Change Agent may be unacceptable to the





client system simply because he is perceived to be an outsider. The third reason was that the Change Agent himself may not consider it his business to bring about remedial measures in situations of resistance. The fact of group identity and social control brought about as a result of participation would help to minimize these problems under the Agent Participation Approach.

The problems of identifying and remedying the bases of resistance are two of the major tasks connected with the realization of Planned Change. Looking back at the types and bases of resistance forces illustrated in Chapter II, it will be noticed that type C namely, a client system's resistance towards a specific change goal, corresponds closely with the most natural and most frequent forms of resistance to change. The most common reasons for such a frequent form of resistance are, either that the client system distrusts the outcome of the change, or simply that the outcome of the change is unacceptable to the client system. The resistance force type C, deals with an issue that is central to all forms of change, and applicable to all Change Agents and categories of client systems. It raises the question, given other things as equal or irrelevant, how can one party be influenced by another to adopt change?

James S. Coleman has presented two different kinds of social situations in which the exercise of influence can be understood in its simplest form.<sup>24</sup> The first of these is the Gemeinschaft situation of a collectivity orientation, where the influenced can assume that the influencer's goals are the same as his own. The second type is the non-Gemeinschaft situation where the influenced perceives the influencer's goals to be different from his own. In the first type the influenced



has an investment of trust in the influencer. In the second type, influence operates on guarantees that the outcome of influence would serve the ends of the influenced. These guarantees provide for direct retaliation by the influenced, as well as for normative controls from a wider system.

Of the Gemeinschaft type, Talcott Parsons has commented as follows:

Is there, then, any comparable 'intrinsic' source of persuasion that has a special likelihood of inspiring trust? If, in answering this question, we remember that we are dealing specifically with social interaction, it seems reasonable to suggest that the most favorable condition under which alter will trust ego's efforts to persuade him (independent of specific facts or 'inherently' trustworthy intentions) will be when the two stand in a mutual relation of fundamental diffuse solidarity, when they belong together in a collectivity on such a basis that, so long as the tie holds, ego could not have an interest in trying to deceive alter.<sup>25</sup>

Based on Coleman's analysis presented in the previous paragraph it is possible to offer some comments on the type of resistance where a client system shows reluctance to adopt a specific change goal. Under the Change Agent Approach, the relation between the Agent and the client system is not one of a Gemeinschaft variety, and thus, the question of an investment of trust in the Change Agent does not arise. On the other hand it is justifiable to conclude that the existing relationship is one of a non-Gemeinschaft type. Coleman has indicated that the effective exercise of influence in such a situation is based on certain guarantees that are protected by two kinds of action namely, direct retaliation and normative controls. It could be satisfactorily argued that the Change Agent is not usually subjected to either of these controls.

The Agent Participation Approach provides a contrast to the above situation. On the grounds that the act of the Agent's participation in





change brings about an orientation of collective goals between himself and the client system, the type of relation could be considered as Gemeinschaft. On the other hand, the type of relation could also be termed non-Gemeinschaft if it is recognized that the goals of the Agent are different simply because of his major performance area being the facilitating of change. Whatever the interpretation of the relation may be, it is clear that the Participant Change Agent functions in a structural context that is conducive to the exercise of influence. On the one hand, the identity he enjoys with the client system enables the clients to have in him an investment of trust. On the other hand, and for the same reason he would be vulnerable to direct retaliations, and the exercise of normative controls.

### Practical Considerations

The following discussion is devoted towards considering three issues of practical importance that have relevance to the Agent Participation Approach. The first of these is the question whether it is all that necessary for the Change Agent to participate in change. It is a fairly well established principle in social science, that a group member has a greater capacity to influence a group, than would an outsider. On this point it is pertinent to present an excerpt from the essay on influence by Parsons.

Indeed, we may say that at many levels of being "one of us" is a factor enhancing influence, whether it be membership in a local community, an occupational or professional group, or any one of many others.<sup>26</sup>

One of the conclusions in Chapter IV was that the Change Agent does not enjoy group status with the client system. Also, it has to be recognized that the leader or member of a group does not usually presume his role to



be that of an innovator of change. At the same time there is no need for Planned Change to be put off indefinitely till it is experienced by the group through a process of social evolution. It is on this basis that it seems theoretically justifiable why a Change Agent should participate in change if such participation would contribute towards his attaining group identity with the client system.

The second issue of practical interest likely to disturb the pragmatist in particular, is as to how a Change Agent could be induced to participate. Here the answer is simple enough because the term Participant Change Agent refers only to an Agent who does participate. It is however, quite obvious that some persons are more prone to participation than others. A study by Vroom showed that persons who are authoritarian and possessed of weak independence needs, do not have a positive disposition towards participation.<sup>27</sup> This only means that, as with all demanding roles, the correct type of person should be selected for the task. Rather than pleading with an unwilling Agent to ensure his participation, it is a matter of selecting and training people for a particular role.

The third issue concerns the formidable response of the 'it won't work' reaction that follows almost any idea on modifications of established practice. The argument that could well be anticipated is that the Change Agent cannot possibly function under so much pressure. It should be appreciated that Change Agents exist because of the need for Planned Change, and not that Planned Change is necessary because there already are Change Agents. While referring to religious missionaries as one of the oldest kinds of Change Agents, Goodenough draws attention to the fact that a Change Agent should be personally committed





to the way of life he intends introducing to others.<sup>28</sup> There are numerous studies of military and factory organizations that examine statuses that function under much pressure, both of a formal and social nature. The two essays on Change Agents, one by Dube<sup>29</sup> and the other by Dube and Sutton<sup>30</sup> are good examples of studies that illustrate the fact that even as it is, the role of the Change Agent subjects him to function under a great deal of pressure.

In the context of the Change Agent's role in Planned Change in general, the advantages of participation cannot be overlooked. First, he has the opportunity to demonstrate what he claims to have faith in. With reference to village level workers, Du Sautoy says that they ". . . must be sincere and willing to practice what they preach," because the demonstration of one's convictions is in itself an aspect of teaching.<sup>31</sup> Second, there is no doubt that the Agent has to be truly responsible to the client system. Third, he has an excellent opportunity of understanding the client system and its problems through personal experience. Fourth, he could ensure the success of a change program by the efficient management of both Agency and client resources. Fifth, he could function as an effective link between the two systems because he has acceptance in both. Finally, the fact of his participation absorbs him into the group identity of the client system.

This Chapter would be concluded with a discussion and an enumeration of specific empirical references that have been made with regard to the importance of the Change Agent enjoying group identity with the client system. In his study of 'Alcoholics Anonymous', Bales has observed the operation of the influence process to be a generic method of social control that is realized through two characteristic





features. One is group identity, because "all talk the same language." The other is the flexibility of role transformation whereby the patient could be the doctor, and the doctor a patient. Among other factors Bales has indicated mutual obligation between members to be a conducive matrix for re-education. The group therapy aspect of the study illustrates the importance that participation has for effecting change.<sup>32</sup> The utility of group identity for the Change Agent can be ascertained with reference to statements that have been made in favour of local agents too. Du Sautoy has stressed the importance of carefully selected local persons for village level work in Community Development. In spite of the arguments that can be offered against such a practice, he is convinced that the advantages outweigh the dangers.<sup>33</sup> John Adair has reported on the successful work performed by Indian health workers in the Cornell-Navaho project. Because he shares the language, behavior and values of the client system as well as the Change Agency, the health worker is said to have been an effective mediator between them.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, Whyte and Holmberg seem to attribute the success of the Cornell-Peru project in Vicos, to the fact that the program was launched with a minimum of non-Indian personnel. The actual diffusion of change was executed by local leaders and foremen.<sup>35</sup> The so called success of the Vicos project has however, aroused some controversy as is evidenced by the remarks of Erasmus.<sup>36</sup>



Notes to Chapter V

1. George C. Homans, The Human Group, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950.
2. Ibid., pp. 34-44
3. Ibid., pp. 90, 109.
4. Ibid., pp. 122-125.
5. Ibid., p. 289.
6. Ibid., p. 301.
7. Ibid., pp. 113-115.
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9. Ibid., p. 35.
10. Ibid., p. 84.
11. Ibid., p. 36.
12. John R. P. French Jr., and B. Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in D. Cartwright and A. Zander, editors, Group Dynamics, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Co., 1960, p. 621.
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25. Talcott Parsons, "On The Concept Of Influence," Public Opinion Quarterly, 27 (Spring, 1963), p. 49.
26. Ibid., p. 51.
27. Vroom, op. cit..
28. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 19.
29. S. N. Dube, "Organizational Tension in the Community Development Blocks of India," Human Organization, 28 (Spring, 1969), pp. 64-71.
30. D. C. Dube and W. Sutton, "A Rural Man in the Middle," Human Organization, 24 (Summer, 1965), pp. 148-151.
31. Peter du Sautoy, "Selection of Village Level Workers for Community Development in Developing Countries," International Review of Community Development, 8 (1961), p. 82.
32. Robert F. Bales, "Social Therapy for a Social Disorder," Journal of Social Issues, 1 (August, 1945), pp. 14-22.
33. Du Sautoy, op. cit., p. 82.
34. John Adair, "The Indian Health Worker in the Cornell-Navaho Project," Human Organization, 19 (Summer, 1960), p. 61.
35. W. F. Whyte and A. R. Holmberg, "Human Problems of U. S. Enterprise in Latin America," Human Organization, 15 (Fall, 1956), p. 16.
36. Erasmus, op. cit., p. 72.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE APPLICATION OF SELECTED THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

In this Chapter, an attempt would be made to apply selected theoretical insights drawn from four different models of social interaction, to the influence situations of the Change Agent and Agent Participation approaches. These four models would be termed functional model, functional conflict model, conflict model and exchange model. The justification for the choice of these models is that they constitute some of the major theoretical frameworks of current Sociology. In the pages to follow, no attempt would be made to summarize in full or to offer critical comments on any of the selected theoretical models. Rather, the focus of the discussion would be to utilize relevant theoretical insights for the purpose of analyzing the two situations of influence.

#### The Functional Model

The functional model, or the structural-functional or systems model as it is often called depending on the dimensions of emphasis, has its most influential impact on modern Sociology as a result of the writings of Talcott Parsons. The point of departure for his analyses of social systems is the social act. According to Parsons, the problem of order and therefore the stability of social systems is maintained by the double complementarity of social action which is based on normatively oriented expectations between actors.<sup>1</sup> The polar opposite of full institutionalization or a stable system is a state of anomie.<sup>2</sup> While recognizing these polar opposites as points of reference in the study of social systems, Parsons has devoted most of his conceptualizations to



the development of ideas on one of these polar types namely, stable social systems. The classification of the types of institutionalization comprises the basic but complex rationale on which Parsons' actor is said to function.<sup>3</sup> Parsons has developed his well known pattern alternatives of value orientation as applicable to the collectivity-integrative sub-type of the moral type of the main category of evaluative action-orientation in this classification. These pattern alternatives provide the basis for polar alternatives of possible orientation-selection for action.<sup>4</sup> These pattern variables of role definition have been selected as the focus of theoretical guidance for this part of the present study. Though the five pairs of pattern variables as originally stated by Parsons, have been modified and re-interpreted by him as well as by his critics, it is proposed to follow the outline of this scheme as presented in The Social System. The five pairs of pattern variables could be listed as follows:

1. Affectivity vs. Affective Neutrality
2. Self-Orientation vs. Collectivity-Orientation
3. Universalism vs. Particularism
4. Achievement vs. Ascription
5. Specificity vs. Diffuseness

A close examination of the Change Agent approach in the light of the above conceptual design, would reveal that, whether the Change Agent is viewed as the actor and the client system as alter or vice versa, the pattern of social action is likely to be based on criteria that are close to the poles of Affective Neutrality, Self-Orientation, Universalism, Achievement, and Specificity. At least in the case of some alternatives the choice is more obvious than in others. For example, in considering the first pair it is justifiable to conclude that neither the Change Agent nor the client system is likely to regard the relationship with





the other as an end in itself but rather as one which is a means for later gratification. In considering the third pair of alternatives it is more likely that the nature of the relationship would be based on Universalistic criteria. That is, the actor is likely to treat alter as one belonging to some classificatory grouping rather than as being only an individual. In the fifth pair of alternatives too the choice is somewhat obvious because the relationship would be closer to criteria based on considerations of Specificity, that is, alter is more likely to be regarded as one providing specialized services rather than a number of role performances.

Almost a direct opposite choice of pattern alternatives may appear to be expected in the influence situation under the Agent Participation approach. This difference could be largely accounted for, on the basis of the Agent enjoying some degree of group identity with the client system. Therefore, there is a likelihood of the relationship between the Agent and the client system being based on criteria closer to Affectivity, Collectivity-Orientedness, Particularism, Ascription and Diffuseness. At the same time it has to be recognized that the Agent in the approach under discussion is the official representative of an outside formal authority, and does not therefore belong to the client group in the sense that other members do. Because of this fact it is not plausible to assert that the relation between the Participant Change Agent and the client system is likely to be based on criteria directly or polar opposite to that between the Change Agent and the client system.

It is relevant to emphasize that the pattern variables as stated by Parsons are only polar types of alternative dilemmas of action.



Parsons himself has indicated that his discussion pertains to ranges of relationships which have been presented in the form of polar alternatives for the sake of simplicity.<sup>5</sup> An analysis of the Change Agent and Agent Participation approaches entails not only matters of form but also matters of content. That is, though the analysis is on a purely theoretical or hypothetical plane, it also deals with specific examples or relationship. Thus it is not quite relevant to refer to the client system's relationship with the Change Agent and the Participant Change Agent as occupying polar positions on a continuum of action alternatives. What is more likely in actual practice is that the relation between the Change Agent and the client system would be based on criteria closer to Affective Neutrality, Self-Orientation and so on. On the other hand the relationship between the Participant Change Agent and the client system could be based on mixed criteria of this polarity or on criteria closer to Affectivity, Collectivity-Orientation and so on. What has been presented so far in this discussion is only hypothetical and the degrees to which each type of relationship is likely to be placed towards either pole of the continuum, must remain an issue for empirical verification.

#### The Functional Conflict Model

This framework of Sociological analysis views conflict as providing for functional or integrational conditions in social systems as opposed to dysfunctional or disruptive conditions. Though the idea of group unity through conflict has been well recognized by some of the earlier theorists such as Simmel, Cooley, Sumner, Ward, Ross, Small and Veblen, it is perhaps the theoretical writings of Coser that have contributed towards a more recent understanding of this field.<sup>6</sup> While





not denying the dysfunctions of social conflict Coser has chosen to focus his attention on the functions of social conflict, which make for an increase in the adaptation or adjustment of particular relationships or groups.<sup>7</sup> Borrowing from the insights offered by Simmel, Coser has presented the essence of his thesis on the basis of sixteen propositions and their discussion.

As regards the scope of the present study is concerned it could be asserted that Coser's model is of little utility because, in the ultimate analysis it has more in common with the Parsonian image of a stable system than with a system of conflict. In other words what Coser refers to as conflict is in fact a form of behavior or social interaction that does not threaten or attack the core values and ideals of the group. For his analysis he has ruled out the attitudes and dispositions of hostility that may accumulate and explode, causing a basic disruption of the group structure.

It will be recalled that in Chapter II reference was made to the manifestations and bases of resistance to change. Of the six types of resistance forces that were identified, at least four types could be explained on the basis of fundamental conflict, that is, conflict centered on issues pertaining to the very goals and means of the change venture. Coser's model of conflict cannot successfully be applied to the influence situation of either the Change Agent or the Agent Participation approach if the character of conflict is deep rooted or fundamental. On the other hand an analysis of the two approaches based on Coser's notion of conflict poses two major problems. First, such an analysis would of necessity have to be limited to issues that are less crucial compared to those pertaining to actual forces of resistance. Second, whatever the



conflicts might be in each change approach, it would have to be contended that these conflicts are not only nondisruptive but also functional to the life of the group structure.

The inapplicability of this model would be most apparent in the event of an empirical verification of the effectiveness of the Change Agent and Agent Participation approaches. The first major problem would be to identify and isolate types of conflict that are not fundamental in nature. Second, it would be difficult to assess the effectiveness of the two approaches in the light of these conflicts because, almost by definition such conflicts are said to be functional. Paradoxically though, it may well be that the approach which generates the most amount of conflict happens to be assessed as the most effective one.

However, given these limitations it may yet be possible to make some observations in respect of the reduction of conflict, irrespective of whether the prevalence of such conflict is functional. Following the line of argument presented earlier under the functional model, it could be asserted that, even the type of conflict as pictured by Coser is more likely to be lessened under the Agent Participation approach than under the Change Agent approach. The main justification for such an argument is that the Participant Change Agent is not likely to be received in that role by the client system if his presence or role performance is one arousing conflict and disensus. Even though he may be able to perform the responsibilities of a Change Agent he certainly would not make much success as a participant or a group member. Since the functions of social conflict are not usually familiar to the client system at least, the possibility of a Participant Change Agent and a client system deliberately maintaining a state of conflict for its own sake as it





were, is quite meagre.

### The Conflict Model

In contrast to the polar position developed by Parsons, namely of dealing with full institutionalization or stable social systems, the conflict model takes an entirely opposite view of the functioning of social structures. The case for such a framework of analysis has been well presented by John Rex.

Parsons, of course, tells us that he is concerned with the case of the completely institutionalized social relation, and he assumes that there is a minimum level of need-satisfaction achieved by the individuals participating in a social system. If we wish to include in sociology an account of those social systems in which participants are relatively dissatisfied with the level of need satisfaction allowed by the existing network of social relations, we should have to take account of the ends which these participants set themselves.<sup>8</sup>

The conflict model as developed by Rex starts with the assumption that there could be two parties with conflicting aspirations or aims. The cooperation of others is necessary for these aspirations to be fulfilled. Conflict groups develop as a result of allies and participants joining the parties in conflict. The reasons for conflict is based on the type of access to the means of life, or other factors such as control of power and control of ideas. Most conflict situations are characterized by an unequal balance of power. It is often the aim of the dominant party to maintain its position on the grounds of some form of legitimacy.

This model of conflict has its applicability to most situations of Planned Change. For example, Goodenough has observed that conflict of interests is fundamental to the cooperation between an agency and a community in the field of Community Development. According to him, the conflict is often resolved in favor of the party which has the advantage of power. Though Goodenough does not feel that such a practice is





effective in the long run, he is emphatic on the fact that conflict of interests provides the very basis for most types of resistance to change.<sup>9</sup>

In this context there are two major issues that need to be discussed. The first raises the question as to the likely outcome of an influence situation if there is a conflict of fundamental interest such as over the goals and means of Planned Change. Second, if it is to be assumed that one of the parties in conflict has the power or authority to have an advantage of deciding on the resolution of conflict, what basis is followed in ascribing such legitimacy to that party. Most writers do not seem to provide direct answers on such issues. For example, Goodenough states that:

Our approach to human problems in community development, therefore, will be one that regards the planner's wants and the community's wants as both worthy of respect. We shall not attempt to establish any position as to whose are to prevail when there is conflict between them. In any case these judgments will follow from the dominant values of the parties in conflict and the de facto powers they have for implementing them. We can only hope to increase the perceptiveness with which planners and field agents make such judgments.<sup>10</sup>

It is pertinent at this stage to examine how these issues relate to the two influence situations under the Change Agent and Agent Participation approaches. Taking the Change Agent approach first, it is possible to offer some comments on the first issue namely, what outcome is likely if there is an area of fundamental conflict between the Change Agent and the client system. If such an event prevails in a situation of power balance between the two parties, there could perhaps be one of two alternative outcomes. One would be to cancel or postpone the change program until such time that the parties could have some consensus. The other would be for one or both parties to slacken interest in the program



so that it only appears to be functioning whereas for all practical purposes it has ceased to operate. The second major issue involving legitimized power imbalance relates to how conflicts can be resolved or avoided as a result of the special status ascribed to either of the parties. Under the Change Agent approach the Agent possesses not only expert power but also forms of coercive power, that is in the sense of having the ability to reward or withhold rewards that could be gratifying to the client system. On the other hand it is not possible to say that the client system too has types of power it could exercise over the Change Agent. The rationale for this has already been presented in Chapter IV and needs no repeating here.

It will be noticed that the above issues take a somewhat different form of resolution under the Agent Participation approach. Where there is a fundamental conflict between the Agent and the client system in a situation of power balance, there is likely to be only one outcome namely, the termination of the change program and the withdrawal of the Agent. Because of the participant nature of his role, the Agent would not be in a position to continue a change program or to wield any influence. In other words there would hardly be any possibility for a change program to drag on, as if it is functioning effectively. On the other hand if it is to be assumed that the Agent under this approach has a legitimacy to exercise power or authority in resolving areas of conflict, it could be argued that he is perhaps better equipped in this regard than the Agent under the Change Agent approach. That the Participant Change Agent possesses both expert and referent power has been illustrated in the last chapter. The fact of his enjoying more than one status in the eyes of the client group makes him in fact a





provider of more than one service to the group. The legitimacy for the power to influence others in resolving conflict is therefore something that he derives from the group on account of at least two reasons namely, the ability to provide expert knowledge, and the capacity to enjoy group status.

### The Exchange Model

The exchange model of social behavior was systematically presented first by George C. Homans. Since his initial formulation several others too have made similar or modified contributions to this area of sociological theory. For the sake of both clarity and consistency, the present study would draw on insights from the major work on exchange theory by Homans.<sup>11</sup>

Homans' model of social behavior is constructed by combining selected bodies of general propositions from behavioral psychology and elementary economics. His own formulation is intended to explain behavior that is "social" and "elementary".<sup>12</sup> The essence of his thesis begins by emphasizing the triple contingency between stimulus, activity and reinforcement. The individuals who could be involved in an exchange situation are for convenience termed Person, Other and the Third Man. Interaction between individuals consists of units of activity that carry value or some utility for those individuals. Therefore interaction itself is based on an exchange as it were of activities considered valuable. The inclination to interact and the duration and frequency of an interaction would depend on expected reward that compensates for the cost involved in investing in an interaction. Homans has advanced five propositions that contain the main arguments of his



theory. These five are centered on the basic concepts of stimulus, success, value, satiation-deprivation, and justice. It is not the intent of the present study to paraphrase or summarize these propositions or for that matter any of the theoretical schemes referred to in this Chapter. Rather, the purpose is to make a brief statement on the major theoretical stance of selected theorists and to proceed in applying relevant insights to the two influence situations that comprise the major focus of this study.

In applying Homans' model of social behavior to the two influence situations it is convenient to conceive of Person, Other and the Third Man as being synonymous with the client system, the Agent and the Agency respectively. Following the sequence of analysis adhered to earlier, it is proposed to deal first with the influence situation under the Change Agent approach. As in the case with Homans' Other, the Change Agent under this approach happens to be providing some form of activity to two parties namely, the Change Agency and the client system. Though the nature of this activity differs in the two types of relation what is more glaringly significant is the difference in the two types of relation themselves. The relation between the Agent and the Agency is no doubt a mutually reinforcing one. That is, as long as the relation between these two parties is mutually rewarding in terms of what they can offer each other, there is no reason for either of them to terminate this basis of exchange. Perhaps the only theoretical possibility for such a termination to occur would be if one of the parties felt relatively deprived of reward in respect of the cost it incurred in emitting the activity that was required according to the contract of exchange. The relation between the Change Agent and the client system





on the other hand presents a different type of phenomenon. Here, even if it is assumed that the Change Agent emits some activity that always proves to be valuable to the client system, he does not have to rely on the client system's approval or reciprocal activity to continue his own activity. In other words he does not have to rely on reward from the client system, because his activity is stimulated by the Agency and it is the Agency that continues to reward him. Therefore it could well be that even for activities that the Change Agent provides to be valuable to the client system, he is rewarded indirectly by his Agency. It must be emphasized that this argument does not deny the possibility of a client system showing approval that is gratifying to the Agent which again acts as a stimulus for him to engage in similar activity as he had done earlier. The point that is made is that he does not require to place reliance on such approval from the client system whereas he must need such reliance from the Agency if he is to continue in his role. Invariably the client system is aware of the mutually reinforcing reward system between the Agent and his Agency and may even refrain from emitting activity that is rewarding to the Change Agent. The major conclusion of this discussion is that, though the Change Agent is one who exercises his major performance area at the level of personal contact, his relation with the client system need not be an interaction which constitutes an exchange in the sense described by Homans. If the relation is not one of exchange it cannot be meaningful interaction of elementary social behavior.

In contrast to the above, the influence situation under the Agent Participation approach is characterized by a relation of exchange not only between the Change Agent and the Change Agency but also between





the Change Agent and the client system. The first type of relation is similar to that operating between the Change Agent and the Change Agency as described earlier under the Change Agent approach. The second type of relation constitutes an exchange because, not only must the Agent provide activity that is of value to the client system but he must also receive some reinforcement by way of approval or reward from the client system if he is to continue his role as participant and group member.

As stated by Homans,

Cooperation occurs when, by emitting activities to one another, or by emitting activities in concert to the environment, at least two men achieve a greater total reward than either would have achieved by working alone. 13

In the case of the Change Agent who participates, it is clear that he has to enter into two types of exchange relations, that is, one with his Agency and the other with the client system. In the performance of his role as Participant Change Agent he is thus rewarded by both these parties.

On the basis of the discussion made so far it could be asserted that the relation between the Change Agent and the client system under the Agent Participation approach is one of exchange and therefore comprises a meaningful interaction in social behavior, whereas the same need not necessarily be so under the Change Agent approach. The difference lies in the fact that the exchange relations under Agent Participation is maintained by structural determinants, whereas the possibility of an exchange relation between the Agent and the client system under the Change Agent approach may depend on factors that are nonstructural.



Notes To Chapter VI

1. Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951, p. 36.
2. Ibid., p. 39.
3. Ibid., pp. 45-58.
4. Ibid., pp. 58-67.
5. Ibid., p. 59.
6. Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, New York: The Free Press, 1956, Continuities in the Studies of Social Conflict, New York: The Free Press, 1967.
7. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, op. cit., p. 8.
8. John Rex, Key Problems of Sociological Theory, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961, pp. 108-109.
9. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 35.
10. Goodenough, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
11. George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961.
12. Ibid., pp. 2-7.
13. Ibid., p. 131.





## CHAPTER VII

### EPILOGUE

#### Brief Summary

This study dealt with the Sociological problem area of Means to Planned Change. Specifically, the focus of research interest was on two types of Approaches relevant and applicable to those categories of Planned Change that are based on the agent-client relationship. The Agent Participation approach was assessed in comparison with the Change Agent approach. The research exercise however, covered a wider scope of analysis than a mere comparative assessment of these approaches. It was first necessary to clarify for the purpose of this thesis, the scope and dimensions of the subject area of Planned Change. Such an analysis was seen as providing information of utility for purposes even extending beyond the needs of this study. A second major task was to examine the concept Participation and to explore its applicability as a means of influence. It was concluded that participation involves a process of interpersonal reciprocal influence. The role of the Participant Change Agent was seen as facilitating two types of influence namely, interpersonal reciprocal influence and interpersonal unilateral influence.

The latter half of this study was devoted to the actual comparative analysis of the two approaches to Planned Change. Three orientations of inquiry were followed in this regard. The first was a role characterization of each approach accompanied by an assessment of its effectiveness based on structural considerations. The main analytical tool utilized for this assessment was the concept of Control. The



second line of inquiry was to assess the relative effectiveness of the two approaches on the basis of their likely functioning with regard to the forces of resistance to change. Third, the two approaches were reviewed in the light of selected insights drawn from four different models of social behavior in current Sociological theory. The general conclusion of the study tends to support the position that Agent Participation is likely to be more effective than the Change Agent approach as a means to Planned Change.

### Limitations of the Findings

A conclusion that takes the form of a general statement measures far short of any scientific credibility unless one of two conditions have been fulfilled in the preparation of such a statement. The first of these is a sophisticated methodology that perhaps includes a multiple methods research design. This has not been attempted in the present study. The second condition is that, even if a single method of inquiry is adopted, the scope of its design should be exhaustive enough to cover a variety of dimensions that could be researched by that single method. As indicated in Chapter I of this thesis, the failure to fulfil this condition is a major limitation of the present study. The often alleged discrepancy between theory and practice has its glaring evidence when supposedly theoretical statements are made without adequate support from carefully assessed cases from the empirical world. This point can be illustrated by presenting the conclusions of this study in the form of three propositions.

1. Agents who Participate in Planned Change are more likely than other Change Agents to enjoy Acceptance among the client systems they serve.



2. Agents who Participate in Planned Change are more likely than other Change Agents to Overcome a client system's Resistance to change.
3. Agents who Participate in Planned Change are more likely than other Change Agents to Influence the adoption of change among the client systems they serve.

It is pertinent to present such propositions, not as general statements of credibility advanced as the conclusions of a research project, but as statements of research interest perhaps deserving the merit of thorough inquiry. There are at least two reasons why such statements have no further theoretical value. First, as mentioned earlier, the limitations of the study, both in scope and method, restrict the significance that can be placed in its general findings. Second, there is no basis upon which plausible corollaries could be derived either on the degrees to which one approach is more effective than the other, or on the conditions under which one approach is more effective than the other. This shortcoming is largely the result of the paucity of case material covered in the study.

#### Limitations of the Agent Participation Approach

The limitations of the study and therefore of the findings as well, suggest the need for a discussion on a rather neglected subject in this thesis namely, the shortcomings of the Agent Participation Approach. Some shortcomings were stated at the end of Chapter V and again argued in favor of Agent Participation. There are however, at least three major issues on which the case built in favor of Agent Participation cannot be dismissed lightly. These three issues are as follows.

First, it is not justifiable to conclude that the Participant





Change Agent would even if selected and trained for that role, be able to perform his duties without a re-definition of his role. As noted in Chapter V he is expected to function under two major types of pressure and control that may make contrary demands on his performance. As to whether he can meet such demands and at the same time maintain his role as theoretically defined, or whether a re-definition of his role is inevitable in the light of the exercise of controls is an empirical question which has not been adequately explored in this thesis. Such an empirical issue can be resolved only through an exhaustive assessment of more case studies or through a rigorous analysis of instances of Agent Participation based on a more sophisticated methodology.

Second, the Agent Participation Approach has the major limitation of non-feasibility under certain conditions. One of the questions that can be raised in this regard is not so much whether an Agent is willing to participate in change but whether he has the capacity to do so. Another question is that even if the Agent has the capacity to participate, whether it is worthwhile in terms of other practical consideration such as availability of staff, resources and time. In short this thesis has not demonstrated that, in terms of the results to be expected Agent Participation is worthwhile and feasible.

Third, even as a matter of purely theoretical concern, it has not been successfully argued that the maxim 'familiarity breeds contempt' does not apply in the influence situation under the Agent Participation approach. If the Agent enjoys the group identity of the client system he may become familiar with the group to the extent that he may lose the authority and expert power necessary to wield influence. Homans has dealt with a similar issue in his discussion on leadership



authority.<sup>1</sup> He contends that, while being a member of the group the leader must maintain a position of aloofness if the authority of leadership status is to be sustained. Likewise, the extent to which a Participant Change Agent should and could maintain a status of aloofness while enjoying the group identity of the client system has not been explored in this thesis.

Perhaps the three issues mentioned above cannot be resolved without thorough empirical investigation. If that be so it is justifiable to consider these issues at present as serious limitations of the Agent Participation Approach, rather than assuming that they do not exist at all.

#### Further Empirical Issues

Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is the exploration of a relatively new problem area that could be subjected to more critical inquiry. Some of the basic propositions that could serve as broad guidelines for inquiry have been stated earlier in this Chapter.

If the effectiveness of the Agent Participation Approach is at least a hypothetical possibility, what must be ascertained are the conditions under which such results would probably accrue. The guidelines offered in Chapter II with regard to the basic issues of Planned Change would provide relevant points of departure for identifying such conditions. For example, it would be pertinent to inquire into the suitability of the Agent Participation Approach as applicable to different types of Change Goals, Change Systems, Change Resources and Change Means, or a combination of such types. Another focus of inquiry would be to ascertain the effectiveness of Agent Participation in respect of one or





more types of resistance forces.

This study has reflected on another problem area for possible inquiry, namely, the effectiveness of a Change Agent as determined by the structural arrangement of controls that regulate his behavior. The literature on Planned Change has many examples of types of Change Agents. These Agents function under varying degrees of sanctions regulated by formal and social controls. It would be of much significance both theoretical and practical, if inquiry could be directed towards ascertaining the degrees of formal and social control under which Change Agents concerned with different types of change are most likely to function effectively. It seems plausible to assume that Change Agents concerned with change in industrial organizations, military-type organizations, communities, social movements, groups and individuals, would need to have different kinds of role definitions in terms of the exercise of controls. The following illustration presents a simplified overview of the range of such controls.

		Formal Control	
		High	Low
Social Control	High		
	Low		

Figure 4

A SIMPLIFIED OVERVIEW OF THE RANGE OF CONTROLS



Depending on the types of change and client systems involved, various kinds of Change Agents could be placed in the appropriate cells of the illustration on the previous page, according to the ranges of controls considered desirable for most effective results. While on this subject it is pertinent to refer to a somewhat similar theoretical statement offered by Andrew Frank.<sup>2</sup> Frank has posed an 'ideal' typology of administrative organizations based on the criterion of role definition. These types of administrative roles are named as: Under-defined, Well-defined, and Over-defined roles. According to Frank, well-defined roles permit bureaucratic and ritualistic performances while prohibiting individual initiative.<sup>3</sup> In the case of under-defined roles it is said that change would be facilitated not according to structural determinants but according to cultural factors or the activeness displayed by particular role incumbents.<sup>4</sup> According to Frank, either the excessive role expectations beyond a role incumbent's capacity, or conflicting role expectations, both characteristic of over-defined roles, are said to lead to initiative, innovation and adaptive processes in organizations.<sup>5</sup> In the light of this argument it may be worthwhile to explore the role of the Participant Change Agent as an over-defined one and to ascertain its utility in producing significant change. In contrast to well-defined roles, it is said that under-defined and over-defined roles are more innovative, change producing and discretionary.<sup>6</sup>

#### Implications of the Study

The material presented in this thesis is exploratory in the sense that the topic of inquiry is relatively new. In addition, it could also be stated that the subject area of Planned Change itself does not consist



of a systematically organized body of knowledge. In the light of these two observations it is possible to state at least four of the likely implications of this study.

First, this study could be conceived of as assisting in the clarification and re-conceptualization of the subject area of Planned Change. Some of the ideas developed in this context are new, and therefore could contribute towards adding new dimensions of inquiry.

Second, it is hoped that the focus of research on 'approaches' to Planned Change would help in bridging a definite research gap in the field. It has been the practice for most research ventures on Planned Change to be directed towards assessing the effectiveness of either strategies and tactics or methods and techniques. The present study has attempted to ascertain whether research on approaches and orientations too could contribute new knowledge to the field.

Third, the more specific focus of the study namely, the comparative assessment of two approaches to planned Change has provided some basis for further research on this particular problem area. Some specific issues of empirical concern have been presented in the earlier sections of this chapter.

Finally, it could be stated that a study of this nature could contribute towards the re-conceptualization and re-formulation of Change Policy. In the practice of Planned Change there has been an overdependence on certain orientations and approaches. In most traditions of Planned Change there has hardly been any re-thinking on approaches, whereas there has been a persistent concern over strategies and methods. It may be worthwhile for those concerned with policy and implementation of Planned Change to explore whether a change in approach would yield





more effective results under specified conditions.



Notes to Chapter VII

1. Homans, Social Behavior, op. cit., pp. 310-314.
2. Andrew G. Frank, "Administrative Role Definition and Social Change," Human Organization, 22 (Winter, 1963-1964), pp. 238-242.
3. Ibid., p. 240.
4. Ibid., p. 239.
5. Ibid., pp. 240-241.
6. Ibid., p. 240.





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